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Commonweal

Catholicism In Los Angeles

A Church of Silence

A. V. Krebs, Jr.

The DuBay Case

John Leo

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Catholicism in Los Angeles

THE PURPOSE of this special issue on "Catholicism in Los Angeles" is to call attention to an extraordinary situation, one which raises a number of important questions about the exercise of episcopal authority in that archdiocese and about the Church's witness to moral values in society. Often enough, magazines will tell their readers they are "happy" and "proud" to be publishing a certain article or a certain issue. We wish we could say this of the two articles published here, but we cannot. Along with their authors, we wish they did not have to be published. We wish the facts which they bring to light did not exist. We wish the scandal which they uncover had no place in Los Angeles, or anywhere in the American Church.

But our wishes cannot change the situation. The one thing we could do, of course, is to remain silent. There is ample precedent for such silence in the Church. Indeed, there is considerable justification for silence, a justification springing from the solemn duty of the layman to respect legitimate episcopal authority and not arbitrarily, on the basis of private predilections, to raise public doubts about the exercise of that authority. In the present context, however, there is no question of private whims or idiosyncratic viewpoints. The abuses to which the articles call attention have a bearing of the first importance on the life of the Church. The basis from which the criticisms are leveled is that of the most solid, universally accepted Catholic principles.

One of these principles is that of the necessity for public opinion in the Church, a principle enunciated by Pope Pius XII. In particular, the Pope held, ". . . the Catholic press must exercise among the faithful its influence upon public opinion within the Church. It is only in this manner that it will be able to avoid all the ideas which are false by excess or defect regarding the role of the Church in the temporal order, and in our days particularly, with respect to the social question and the problem of peace."

Another principle bears directly on "the social question." The Church teaches that all men are created equal and it has charged all Catholics with the task of promoting racial equality. Quite rightly, the Church sees racial equality as a moral issue. In Los Angeles, however, it is a punishable offense for a priest to speak directly to the race problem from a pulpit. This means that it is all but impossible for a priest to inform his parishioners of the Church's solemn teaching. This is a gross abuse of the priest's Catholic conscience, a source of scandal among the laity, a threat to the Church's teaching mission.

IN AMERICA today, there is no domestic problem so pressing as that of racial equality. The record of the American Catholic Church is, by and large, a fair one. Countless priests, bishops, theologians and laymen have spoken out forcefully on racial injustice; for that the Church can be proud. At the same time, however, Catholics have often been timid and temporizing. One could, even now, point to many examples of compromise and a mere paying of lip-service to Negro equality. The task for the American Church is, then, not complete.

Naturally it may be argued, and often is, that prudential considerations sometimes require that a bishop maintain a discreet silence. It is not impossible to imagine such situations. But there is nothing to indicate the need for such silence in Los Angeles. There is even less justification for disciplining priests for a failure to observe silence. It is simply impossible to expect that Catholics will be able to implement the Church's teaching in their own lives, and that of the society in which they live, if no one forcefully impresses it upon their conscience and if those whose mandate requires moral leadership do not provide leadership.

One more principle is important here. Under most circumstances, the way authority is exercised in an

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individual diocese or archdiocese is of concern only to those who live there. Traditionally a bishop from outside a diocese or archdiocese does not criticize the policy of the local Ordinary. In the case of Los Angeles there are no channels of criticism available for those who live there. They are subject to a repressive rule which makes even the most responsible, legitimate criticism impossible.

For that reason, it must remain with others to plead their case, to say in public what they cannot say. Ideally, one might hope that the moral suasion of the other American bishops would suffice. But apparently no such suasion has been attempted; if it has, it has been quite unsuccessful. It is as if the Los Angeles hierarchy constituted a Church unto itself, free to chart its own course, free to abuse the rights and duties of its clergy, free to make light of the social teachings of the Church and free to leave its laity in ignorance of the teachings of the Church universal and the Holy See. This is not the case in the Archdiocese of San Francisco (should one argue some unique circumstances in California); it is not the case in any other archdiocese in America. Why such a situation should exist in Los Angeles defies any possible excuse which has so far been offered.

WASHINGTON REPORT

A Do-Something Congress?

NOW THAT the Senate has passed the civil rights bill, the road is open for work on the rest of the Kennedy-Johnson domestic program. Congress will be in recess from July 2 to July 20 to enable Republicans to attend their Platform Committee meetings and then their Convention in San Francisco. This schedule means that any action will have to take place in the five weeks before the opening of the Democratic Convention on August 24.

It would be astonishing if those five weeks are productive. In 1948, President Truman called Congress into special session after the two conventions. No bills were enacted, but a record was developed that helped Mr. Truman win his upset victory by running against "the do-nothing, good-for-nothing Republican 80th Congress," rather than against Thomas Dewey. In 1960, Congress met again after the conventions, but the newly-nominated ticket of Kennedy and Johnson could not move any legislation although their party was in control. Against this discouraging background, President Johnson is being more than ordinarily optimistic.

"We have approximately 30 bills that we think are desirable . . . which we would like to see acted upon," he told a news conference on June 24.

Of these 30, more than 20 have passed either the House or the Senate and are awaiting action in the other chamber. Of course, several of these measures are routine such as the ritualistic increase in the debt limit, extension of the excise taxes adopted during the Korean War, a military construction bill, and a federal highway bill, but even routine measures can run into snags.

The programs that most people are interested in are those that have not yet come to a vote in either house. These include the Administration's anti-poverty program. There has been so much publicity about the "war on poverty" that most newspaper readers could be forgiven for assuming that the program was well under way. In fact, Sargent Shriver is running a shadow operation which is planning what will be done when and if Congress passes the proposed legislation and appropriates the money. Since no funds have yet been appropriated, Shriver's staff is made up of volunteers and of persons on loan from other agencies. Shriver, meanwhile, continues to head the Peace Corps as well as the anti-poverty planning.

OTHER important bills that are still in committee are the program to re-develop Appalachia, medical care for the elderly, immigration reform, the omnibus housing bill, and the proposal for a commission to study automation. While prediction is always hazardous, I would forecast that of these four bills only a modified housing bill will reach the President's desk this summer.

Aside from the anti-poverty package, for which the prospects are good, the President will be able to go to the country principally on the basis of Congress having passed civil rights and the tax reduction. Since this is more than many Congresses have accomplished, it will be a respectable record. When Mr. Johnson and the Democrats are through describing it, it will sound like a veritable masterpiece.

Notwithstanding the partisan clamor and the deserved tributes to Mr. Johnson's powers of persuasion, however,

SUMMER SCHEDULE

In keeping with the usual practice, The Commonweal will again appear on alternate weeks from the middle of July to the middle of September. The next issue will be dated July 24.

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one must continue to insist on two basic points. The first is the pressing need for fundamental reform of Congress. The second is that as the spokesman and organizer of a broad national program, Mr. Johnson has not yet proved himself. The two points are interdependent. One of the reasons but not the only reason why the President has not yet proved he can deliver is that the present rules and structure of Congress make strong presidential leadership extremely difficult. (Parenthetically, I would note that the latest of numerous books to demonstrate this truth is Senator Joseph S. Clark's *Congress: The Sapless Branch*. Writing as an insider, Senator Clark has many wise and witty things to say about the way Congress works.)

The House Rules Committee remains the most obvious example of the need for congressional reform. Its treatment of the civil rights and anti-poverty bills in late June was characteristic. After the Senate had passed civil rights, the bill went back to the House for its approval since the Senate had adopted several amendments. There was no question that the bipartisan leadership had the votes in the House to accept the Senate version immediately and send it to the White House. Under any sensible set of rules, a bill that has been passed by both houses should be a privileged bill and come to a vote as soon as called up by its sponsor. But not under the rules which the House lives by. Such a bill can be called up for a final vote only by unanimous consent. Otherwise, it has to go to the Rules Committee and get a new rule just as if it were a new bill. Naturally, the Southerners blocked the unanimous consent request.

The foolishness does not stop there. The Rules Committee normally does not meet except at the call of its chairman, Representative Smith of Virginia. In past years, Smith would disappear to his farm and just not call the committee together if a bill were pending which he did not like. To overcome this obstacle, three members can write the chairman asking for a meeting. If he does not reply within three days, a majority of the members can summon a meeting. If he does reply—as Smith, in this instance, did on the third and last day—he must call the meeting within seven days. Naturally, Smith set the seventh day as the date of the meeting. In other words, for no good reason, the bill was arbitrarily delayed a total of 10 days.

On top of all this, the Rules Committee has the right to hear testimony on the bill. In the case of civil rights, the pressure for enactment is so strong that this testimony is only a brief formality. But such is not the case on the anti-poverty bill or on most other controversial legislation. The poverty bill has been denied consideration in the House until after the Republican Convention simply because several members wished to testify before the Rules Committee, and time was not available for them to do so before July 2 (mostly, of course, because Smith had tied up the committee with his stalling on civil rights). This testimony, it should be remembered, is not on any parliamentary question which an innocent outsider might assume was the area of responsibility of a Committee on Rules. This is testimony on the substance of the bill. Usually, it duplicates testimony that the legislative committee that drafted the bill has already heard and considered.

There is no need whatever for the Rules Committee to act as a super-committee screening the work of all other committees. But that is the function that Smith and his colleagues have arrogated to themselves. If there is any need for a Rules Committee at all, which is doubtful, its function should be the routine one of drawing up an orderly calendar to smooth the flow of legislative traffic. But as Smith once boasted, "My people did not send me here just to be a traffic cop."

By "his people," Smith means the voters of his own rural Virginia constituency. Only if the members from the North and West revolt against this narrowly-based Southern oligarchic dominance in the affairs of the House will it be possible to make Congress responsive to the needs of the nation.

An exaggerated acclaim for President Johnson's effectiveness in personal dealings with individual members of the House and Senate has obscured the need for congressional reform in recent months. There is no question that the President is an effective negotiator and impressively skillful in pressuring people into doing things they do not really want to do or at least do not want to do very much. His settlement of the railroad "featherbedding" dispute without a strike was dramatic proof of these talents. In his dealings with Congress, he also has working for him the personal friendship of several influential Southern committee chairmen, an asset that President Kennedy did not possess.

There is a limit, however, beyond which skill in personal, inside kind of politics cannot carry a program. This kind of skill must be combined with the ability to draw up a program, arouse public support for it, and fight it through to a successful conclusion. Mr. Johnson is moving toward drawing up such a program with his speeches around the country painting the broad picture of "the Great Society." But we are still a considerable distance from seeing either the specific legislation embodying the program for reaching the great society or the demonstration that the President can arouse and maintain the support for such legislation in the country and in Congress. Let it not be forgotten that the tax reduction and the civil rights bills would have passed even without Mr. Johnson's efforts. The self-interest of the majority demanded the former and the moral pressure of the majority demanded the latter. The true tests of President Johnson's legislative leadership still lie ahead.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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The Fact of China

THE FACT of Communist China hangs over the Western world like a bomb. Yet political convention is such that our national leaders apparently find it almost impossible to discuss the Far Eastern situation with any degree of candor. We can only hope that their failure to speak is not being matched by a corresponding failure to think.

Someone who obviously has been thinking about the problem and who did speak up recently is Clare Boothe Luce. In many ways Mrs. Luce is an ideal person to initiate an open discussion of our relations with Communist China; the Luce sympathy for Chiang Kai-shek is well known, and Mrs. Luce's anti-Communist credentials can hardly be questioned, even in the most conservative circles. In the perfervid atmosphere that surrounds discussion of China these days (and Cuba too, for that matter) these are definite assets.

Unless tensions with Communist China are relaxed, Mrs. Luce told the graduates of St. John's University on Long Island, "your generation will know nothing but endless war with the Orient." Noting the differences between us and our allies on this point, Mrs. Luce said: "Let us be no less ready and no more afraid than our allies to discuss ways of relaxing tensions with Mao Tse-tung than with Khrushchev. As Sir Winston Churchill said, 'Jaw, jaw is better than war, war!' "

Mrs. Luce is far from naive about Communist China. She urged America to hold firm, even if it becomes necessary to wield a nuclear stick over the head of Mao Tse-tung. "But," she said, "since the Moscow-Peking split there are other ways which, combined with the stick, do offer hope of stopping Chinese expansion." One step in this direction, Mrs. Luce said, could be a sale of wheat to China like the recent wheat deal with Russia. And the wheat, she noted, could then help feed "far hungrier and far more desperate people" than the Russians. "Plainly, there are no votes to be got . . . from saying this today," Mrs. Luce observed. "But it will have to be said after November."

Here Mrs. Luce has put her finger on the sensitive point. The subject of our relations with Communist China has become one of the untouchable subjects in American politics. Republicans and Democrats alike shy away from serious discussion of the topic, with the result that our policy represents more the facts of the past than the shape of the future—or of the present, as far as that goes. I don't think I am naive about Communist China, and I am quite sure Mrs. Luce is not. Mao & Co. are very hard to deal with, and anyone who thinks the opposite need only look at our long-drawn-out negotiations with them in Geneva or at the uneasy truce in Korea. Nonetheless, it is my conviction that we cannot—for our own sake and that of the whole world—slam the door completely closed, and I think this is what Mrs. Luce is saying.

The stresses and strains inside the Western alliance are obvious. Even if it were not for General de Gaulle, the conflict between various national interests would be clear. But in the case of the Communist world too it becomes increasingly obvious that we are not confronting a monolith. Between Russia and Red China in particular, antagonism has gone so far beyond friendly rivalry that it will not easily be smoothed over.

There is, first of all, the ideological split between Russia and China. Mao sticks much closer to the old Stalin line than Khrushchev does. He sees ultimate Communist victory as coming through armed revolution and war; he has little patience with the Russian leader's fear of a world holocaust and his current policy of eventual Communist victory through peaceful competition. Indeed, he has so little patience with it that Khrushchev must sometimes wonder if China might not welcome an all-out war between Russia and the U.S., a war which would destroy both and which would leave China more or less unscathed and ready and willing to pick up the pieces.

Then too there are the obvious conflicts in national interests to reinforce the ideological differences between the U.S.S.R. and China. Relations between the two countries over the centuries have rarely been cordial. Much of what is now Siberia under Russian rule was once in Chinese hands; Khrushchev can hardly imagine that Mao is ignorant of this fact. Chinese maps of the areas adjacent to the Soviet Union leave the borders vague; this alone must make Russian leaders think twice.

China invades India, but does her "ally" help her? On the contrary, Russia supplies India with jet fighters to use against the Chinese. By comparison with China, Russia is rich; yet she has given China comparatively little assistance, and this fact is bitterly resented. Perhaps most significant of all, Russia has always refused to supply China with nuclear weapons—a decision for which we can all be grateful but again not one calculated to make the Chinese Communists happy.

All of this adds up to a real and perhaps fatal strain on Russian-Chinese relations. It does not mean that the relations between the United States and China will necessarily take a turn for the better. It does mean that Mrs. Luce is right and that we should never stop trying. Sooner or later—we hope later—the Chinese are bound to get nuclear weapons of their own. Does anyone imagine for one minute that this will make them easier to deal with?

JAMES O'GARA

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Catholicism in Los Angeles—I

A Church of Silence

A. V. KREBS, JR.

SPRAWLED over 9,508 square miles and stretching along 230 miles of Pacific coastline in the southwestern corner of the United States is what one observer has described as dozens of suburbs in search of a city. To wide-eyed children it is Disneyland. To the physical culturist it is Muscle Beach. To a pietistic tourist it is Forest Lawn. To the starry-eyed teenager it is Hollywood. To nine million residents it is the Southland, and to old-timers and natives, despite all the furbelow, it is still *El Pueblo de la Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Portiuncula.*

Under a blanket of smog and amidst labyrinthian freeways and shopping centers, Los Angeles in recent years has burst over the entire Southern California landscape. Every major social, political, economic and religious institution in the area has prospered. Not the least of these institutions has been the Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

Attempting to meet the spiritual needs of 1,530,000 Catholics in Los Angeles, Orange, Santa Barbara and Ventura counties, the Archdiocese encompasses some 303 parish churches and 347 schools. A new parish is added every 66 days, a new school every 26 days, and 1,000 new Catholics each week. Pastoral responsibility for this vast complex rests on the shoulders of 78-year old Archbishop James Francis Cardinal McIntyre.

Left motherless at 10, the son of an invalid Irish immigrant, James Francis McIntyre went to work at 12. Working for $3 per week in the curb stock exchanges on Wall Street, at 16 he went to work for H. L. Horton & Co. and progressed rapidly to become office manager. A firm partner recalls: "I've never encountered a quicker mind than Frank's; whenever an answer was needed to a difficult problem someone would usually say 'Get Frank.'" At 28, after the death of his father, James Francis McIntyre quit the business world. He had been offered a position in the brokerage partnership of Fahnstock & Co., but declined the offer to enter the seminary. His high school education had come in the evenings after a day of work. In the seminary he was allowed to cram the usual preparatory work into one year while studying Latin at night. In the major seminary he finished the required six-year's work in five years.

After ordination in 1921, at the age of 35, he was an assistant pastor for two years. He was appointed assistant chancellor of the Archdiocese of New York, and later held three posts—coadjutor archbishop, chancellor, and vicar general. His 16 successful years on Wall Street enabled the New York diocese to grow rapidly. No parish defaulted its debt during the depression, and in the early 1930's he refinanced many parish properties at lower interest. Despite the heavy burden of his duties, he still insisted on hearing confessions every Saturday in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and gained a wide reputation as an understanding confessor.

In February, 1948, Pius XII promoted Archbishop McIntyre to head the Los Angeles see. Faced with a rapidly expanding Catholic population, the new Archbishop immediately established an archdiocesan youth education fund. Scrapping plans for a new cathedral, he began building new schools, 17 in poor parishes unable to finance their own. In less than five years 26 new parishes were established and 83 new schools were built at a cost of $15 million. Since coming to Los Angeles, the Cardinal's ability as a fund raiser and construction foreman has been tested and not found wanting. One priest grumbled, "Social action, no—but concrete and cost estimates, those he understands!"

Conscious of the Archdiocese's rapid growth, the Los Angeles hierarchy is extremely zealous in its efforts to protect the faithful from those influences which might endanger faith. Since the famous Aimee Semple McPherson arrived in Los Angeles in the 20's, revivalists and cultists have harassed the major religious bodies in Southern California. Added to this in the 30's was the great migration of Bible-belt Protestants from Arkansas and Oklahoma. Although considerable Catholic influence existed in Southern California because of the historical Spanish tradition, Los Angeles is today predominantly Protestant. Together with sprawling geography, an ideal climate, the lure of glamor, comparative prosperity, and an abundance of recreational facilities, these forces pose an ever-present challenge to worship and Church activities in Los Angeles.

Some 6,500 lay men and women are now active in

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the Archdiocese teaching religion during released time and weekends to 270,000 Catholic children attending public schools. To train, encourage, and equip this lay personnel, the Los Angeles Confraternity of Christian Doctrine maintains 66 training centers which specialize in both doctrine and teaching methods. The Lay Mission Helpers, founded in 1955 by the late Msgr. Anthony Brouwers, train people in particular skills and send them for three years work overseas in the Church's service. Over 200 Lay Mission Helpers have received both spiritual formation and training. Not only are entire school systems in African dioceses staffed by Lay Mission Helpers but others are also serving in Latin America, Oceania, and the U.S. Indian Missions.

But the success of these programs is in contrast with some underlying realities of Catholic life in the Archdiocese, realities which have caused the Church in Los Angeles to be called by some a "Church of Silence." It is a Church which very often appears to be synonymous with ultra-nationalism, ecclesiastical authoritarianism, tolerance of moral evils such as racism, and intolerance for liturgical and social reform. Yet to get a clear picture of the Archdiocese is not an easy task. As much as anything, a fear of reprisal closes many mouths. As one person put it to me: "In an area where one who uses the term 'apostolate' is suspect, we don't attack. We simply try to stay alive. . . ."

Barking Watchdogs

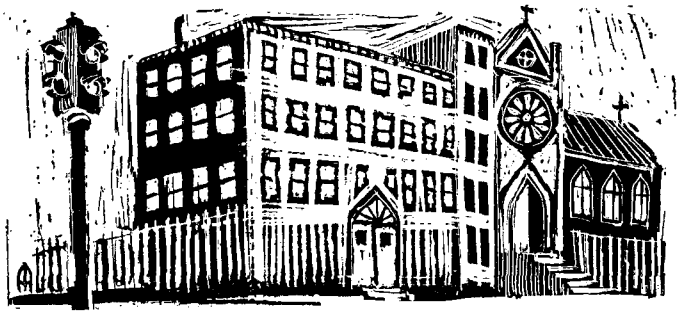
As a point of departure, it is useful to look first at the political spirit which dominates the Archdiocese. Pope John XXIII in an early encyclical, *Princeps Pastorum*, pointed out that " . . . No Christian community anywhere will ever achieve unity with the Universal Church from which emanates the supernatural life of Jesus Christ, if the local clergy and population succumb to the influence of a particularist spirit, if they arouse enmity in other nations and if they are misled and perturbed by an ultra-nationalism which can destroy the spirit of universal charity—that charity upon which the Church of God is built and is called 'Catholic.'" Despite the warnings of Pope John, his predecessors, and Pope Paul VI, there exists in Southern California today a multitude of religiously-oriented "particularists," "ultra-nationalistic," and so-called "anti-Communist" organizations.

One of the most prominent of these organizations is the San Diego Catholics for Better Libraries. Under the motto *Oportet Allatrare Canes* ("It behooves watchdogs to bark") it has been extremely active in sniffing out "subversives," and exerts a noticeable influence in the Los Angeles Archdiocese. One target for the San Diego group has been the Catholic Library Association. In April, 1963, for instance, the Association invited John Cogley, formerly one of the editors of THE COMMONWEAL, and Emmet Lavery, past president of the Hollywood Screen Writers' Guild, to speak at their 39th annual national convention in Los Angeles. Los Angeles Chancery officials did not seek to ban the speakers. Letters, however, which the Chancery Office received protesting the appearance of the two men, began to be forwarded without comment to Catholic Library Association officials. The protests were based on "research" by the San Diego Catholics for Better Libraries, the Catholic Fact Research Association of Los Angeles, and the National Committee of Christian Laymen of Phoenix, Arizona.

In the material distributed by these groups, Mr. Cogley (who because of similar pressure was banned in the San Diego Diocese) was accused of not being able to "set the proper tone" for a meeting of people interested in Catholic libraries. His affiliation with such "questionable" organizations as the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Catholic Council on Civil Liberties, and the Congress of Racial Equality was noted. Opposition to Mr. Lavery's appearance before the High School Section of the Catholic Library Association was based on his close association with the Hollywood Screen Writers' Guild, often accused of Communist influence, and the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization.

These protests, and a threatened picket of the convention, caused Cardinal McIntyre to decline to officiate at the gathering's opening Mass. Moreover, representatives from the San Diego Catholics for Better Libraries refused to leave the Los Angeles hotel convention headquarters, insisting on passing out their literature and their recently prepared book, *Are These Authors in Your Library?* When some women representatives of the C.L.A. attempted to identify a man with pamphlets, he retreated, pursued down a hotel corridor.

But the main opposition to the Catholic Library Association by the San Diego Catholics for Better Libraries is that the Association "collaborates" with Robert Maynard Hutchins and the Ford Foundation to "brainwash our children" through the use of the Great Books and Junior Great Books discussion groups. The Association's identification with Fund for the Republic, Encyclopedia Britannica films, the American Library Association, the Paulist Press, and the Foreign Policy



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Association, among others, according to the San Diego group, "illustrates one of the ways in which the spirit of secularism, relativism, anti-Catholicism, pseudo-liberalism, materialism, collectivism and irreligion is subtly being foisted upon our Catholic children." The zeal of the San Diego Catholics for Better Libraries is indicated by its circulation, among other things, of *What Is Liberalism?*, a book originally published in 1886 in Spain. In advertising this attack on "liberals" the San Diego Catholics noted that this was "The book that delighted the Holy Office" (in 1887).

The Militants

Largest and most influential of the religiously-oriented "particularist" organizations within the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, however, are the militantly anti-Communist Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation and Christian Resistance Movement. Boasting of membership throughout the United States, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation classifies itself as "an educational organization," its purpose to "combat Communism with knowledge and facts." Through a Foundation-recommended "do-it-yourself" technique, by reading prescribed "homework" and by "tailoring" the study outline to the needs of one's particular study group, the Mindszenty Foundation claims the "well-informed or poorly-informed" laymen will be able to answer the question: "What can I do to safeguard our church and country against Communism?"

One Los Angeles priest described a Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation meeting he was asked to attend just before President John F. Kennedy's assassination: "At one point, I asked them frankly: 'Don't you know that the kind of talk you make, the literature you circulate, is apt to poison disturbed minds? Do you realize that the charges of treason, the implications that some of our government officials being Communist agents could result in assassinations? How would you like it if some unstable person would kill President Kennedy, thinking that since he was a traitor, people would approve?' They replied, 'We would like that fine.' All of them received Holy Communion the next day."

"Homework" for the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation centers around the testimony of witnesses before the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, plus a 1958 American Bar Association report. The Mindszenty Foundation also publishes *Inside the Communist Conspiracy*, an annotated bibliography. Among those books "which Americans must read . . . and make available to the many high school and college students who have been victims of the 'paper curtain' are: *McCarthyism: The Fight for America*, by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy. ("Read for yourself the names of the Communist agents McCarthy discovered . . . "); *Nine Men Against America*, by Rosalie M. Gordon. ("The story of the Warren Court and of the special privileges it has given to pro-Communists . . . "); *The Case of General Edwin A. Walker*, by Kent and Phoebe Courtney. ("How the firing of a patriot was part of an organized smear campaign . . . ").

The focal point of Mindszenty Foundation activity in Southern California for three years has been an attack on the Christian Family Movement. In 1961 the CFM's social action programs centered around their national study booklet, *That All May Be One: International Life.* Pointing to this study kit's bibliography which included material from the U.N., UNESCO, UNICEF, and the Foreign Policy Association, the Mindszenty groups accused the CFM of spreading subversive ideas within the Catholic community. Their proof was based on books such as *The Truth About the Foreign Policy Association* (prepared by the Americanism Committee of an Atlanta, Georgia, American Legion post), and *Behind the U.N. Front* by Alice Widener.

As the Mindszenty Foundation stepped up their attack, over 33 percent of the couples belonging to CFM in San Fernando Valley and over 50 percent in Orange County left the Movement and began forming their own "anti-Communist" study groups. In Orange County, with the approval and encouragement of the Foundation, parents and conservative Catholics, most of the Catholic schools dismissed their students to attend Dr. Fred C. Schwartz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade School held in the Disneyland Hotel.

While many have formed Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation groups, others have turned to the John Birch Society and the Christian Resistance Movement. Founded in Pasadena, California, in 1960, Christian Resistance is a non-profit corporation open to all faiths "devoted to forming resistance to Atheistic Communism mainly through the formation and correlation of discussion groups spontaneously evolved from a 'grass roots' experiment." An early project of the Resistance was a four-page attack on *Communism: Threat to Freedom*, an 80-page book by Father John Cronin, S.S., published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference. In his book Father Cronin asserts that the "basic threat" of Communism to the U.S. is external and not internal.

The Christian Resistance disagreed with this conclusion in their attack and accused Father Cronin of compounding confusion on the Communist issue and using half-truths and "downright errors." In denouncing Father Cronin's book, they suggested that Catholics " . . . directly attack the existence in Catholic circles of the extreme liberalism reflected in Father Cronin's book. Catholics should respectfully bring to the attention of their Bishops, pastors and the directors of Catholic schools their views on this subject and, in particular, ask them to investigate and explain how funds derived from the faithful can be justly used to

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support such a partisan effort as that of the Social Action Department of the NCWC. . . . "

Christian Resistance places key emphasis on being "informed, instructed, and organized." To enable the "inexperienced person to lead autonomous discussion groups" it publishes a *Discussion Group Leader's Manual.* Advising Resistance discussion leaders to "under no circumstances" accept as members persons who wish to debate the subject of Communism, the *Manual* suggests a few proper names for each discussion group. "Better not," it cautions, "to have a name like 'Mrs. Jones' Group'; instead, the name of your sponsor, as 'St. Andrew's Group' or, if none, select such a meaningful name as 'George Washington Group,' or 'Bishop Ford Group,' 'Katyn Forest Group,' 'Cuba, Si—Communist, No Group.' . . . " Publications commended for regular reading are *The Wanderer, The Brooklyn Tablet, National Review, American Opinion,* the monthly magazine published by the John Birch Society, and the literature of less well-known "patriotic" groups. Pius XI's *Divini Redemptoris* (On Atheistic Communism), written in 1937, is the only papal encyclical recommended by the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation and Christian Resistance.

"The most valuable single periodical," however, "and one of the best sources of anti-Communist news and opinion in the United States, is *The Tidings,* official publication of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles." In recommending it, Christian Resistance suggests " . . . a most instructive exercise is to assign a participant to carefully read a daily newspaper of the area for a week and for the same week to also read *The Tidings,* with the thought of bringing to the group a) any important stories relating to the Communist menace found in *The Tidings* but *not* in the *daily* newspaper, and b) any news stories or articles of opinion on this subject found in both papers but in which *The Tidings* story puts a different light on the subject than does the daily press. Sometimes the result of such an exercise in the detection of propaganda will be truly startling."

Particularism

Although no "particularist" organization in the area is officially recognized by the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, all are served by *The Tidings,* a paper Victor Ferkiss has termed "an organ of the radical right." Opinion pieces, ads and meeting notices of L.A. "Anti-Communist" group activities appear regularly in *The Tidings:*

"A panel discussion on 'Battle Techniques for the Church Militant' will be presented by the Fullerton Affiliate of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation at the Jolly Roger Inn . . . The Truth Shall Make You Free! READ! GIVE! *THE RED FLOOD* 56 Concise Fact Filled Pages—50¢ 'Did you know that Marx and Engels wrote political commentary for the *N.Y. Tribune* for 19 years?, . . . Write: Christian Resistance . . . "

Recently a movie review of "Seven Days in May," "Dr. Strangelove," "The Victors" and "Fail Safe," authored by the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, appeared on the entertainment page of *The Tidings.* " . . . Just as several years ago the movie *On the Beach* helped create the political climate which persuaded Americans to accept the disastrous nuclear-test moratorium of 1958-61, so the four movies today are selling Americans on defeatism, pacifism, and the unilateral disarmament that leads to surrender to Communism. . . ." In 1962, *The Tidings* published a black-bordered front-page box stating clearly that Father Cronin's *Communism: Threat to Freedom* was *not* the mind of the Church and did not represent *The Tidings'* viewpoint.

The voice of "ultra-nationalism" is pronounced in the regular second-page features "Headlines and Deadlines" written by George N. Kramer, Ph.D. Consistently critical of U.S. foreign policy, Kramer's commentary is generous with material from the Mindszenty Foundation and the Christian Resistance Movement. Regularly appearing opposite Kramer is a ten-inch, seven-column advertisement for the Schick Safety Razor Co. The owner, P. J. Frawley, is also chief executive officer of Technicolor, Inc., and one of the principal financial backers of Dr. Fred C. Schwartz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. In 1964, Frawley was awarded the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation silver Paul Revere bowl for "his important contributions to America's fight against Communism in the fields of business and education."

Following Schwartz's most financially successful Crusade in L.A., *The Tidings'* published a four-page tabloid supplement "Our Moral Obligation to Oppose Communism." With *Tidings* masthead, it was sponsored by the Durand Door Supply Inc. and Metro Hardware Co. as a "public service." Gilbert Durand, owner of the two hardware companies and a major contributor to Christian Resistance, is well-known in Southern California for his support of "all those promoting patriotism, the free enterprise system, and all those fighting Communism." The latter page urged readers to join the "excellent and economical program" offered by Christian Resistance. "Pro-American" and "anti-Communist" bookstores in Southern California, among others the Pro-Blue Book Store, the Betsy Ross Book Shop and The Minuteman were also listed. In addition, an "important" method of fighting Communism recommended by the supplement was to join the Network of Patriotic Letter Writers. Suggested by Welch in his *Blue Book,* this group circulates petitions calling for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren and seeks to alert various congregations to the danger of infiltration by the "Red-fronting" National Council of Churches.

Archdiocesan officials including Cardinal McIntyre

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have denied that such "particularist" groups or *The Tidings* reflect their political views. A visit to the Chancery parking lot, however, shows nearly every car with the Birch bumper signs "The John Birch Society is not a Secret Society," "The Only Ism is Americanism," or "Stamp Out CommUNism."

N.C.C.W. Denounced

Despite support by Popes Pius XII, John XXIII and Paul VI, the United Nations is repeatedly branded by Southern California groups as subversive and a threat to American freedom. Most prominent of those religious groups in Los Angeles who oppose the United Nations is the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, an officially sponsored organization of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. The Los Angeles group is *not* affiliated with the National Council of Catholic Women. In an open letter in 1958 to the N.C.C.W., the Los Angeles Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, whose episcopal chairman is the Cardinal himself, listed, among others, the following reasons for their disaffiliation: "The NCCW bias, slant, and pre-occupation with the U.N., UNICEF, UNESCO, WHO and other specialized agencies of the U.N. . . . The NCCW's omission to build up love of and pride in the United States, its clinging to *Citizenship in a Democracy* versus *Citizenship in a Republic,* its frowning on nationalism and its paralleling the work of the Communists who foster nationalistic propaganda in other countries while they foster *Internationalism* in the *United States.*" (The L.A. Women's group maintains that its position is one of "aloofness from all political entanglements while at the same time assuming full responsibility as citizens in the advancement of the common good.")

While most religious and political commentators viewed Pope John's *Pacem In Terris* and his subsequent sending of Leon Josef Cardinal Suenens to the United Nations as positive support of the U.N., the L.A. Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women felt differently. In a paper delivered to a meeting of the Los Angeles Council on May 10, 1963, by a former ACCW president, it was emphasized that, " . . . in *Pacem In Terris* . . . the Pope did not preconize the United Nations." The only two books displayed at this meeting were *A Catholic Rebels* by a Gordon Fitzgerald, and *Disarmament: A Weapon of Conquest* by Robert Morris. *A Catholic Rebels*, printed in Dallas, Texas, in 1962 is a moral and political assault on former President Kennedy and his administration. " . . . I propose for your consideration at this point that our President has here collaborated with and allowed propagation of, Communism . . . It should be evident to Catholics that there is a grave disparity between our Chief Executive's words and actions and the teachings of his Church. . . ."

Prior to the L.A. Council of Catholic Women's break with N.C.C.W., another Los Angeles women's group had been attempting to counteract the Communist threat to world peace through an "activation of the social encyclicals and the Sermon on the Mount." Formed in December, 1949, by a Los Angeles housewife, the Catholic lay organization of L.A. women called the Christines quickly grew to a 900-member group. A three-fold program of prayer, study, and action involved them in discussions of Catholic social theory, industrial relations, interracial relations, marriage problems, and the bitter controversy raging in Los Angeles at the time over the programs of the U.N. and UNESCO.

Intimidating the Christines

In promoting Pope Pius XII's Fourteen-Point Peace Plan, the Christines soon encountered resistance within the L. A. Catholic community from another Catholic group known as the American Public Relations Forum. While meeting in a parish hall, the Forum began distributing white supremacist literature such as *Southern Conservative;* Joe Kamp's anti-U.N. literature, *Headlines;* the anti-Semitic *Iron Curtain over America;* the *Clover Business Letter* and the *Reports of the American Flag Committee.*

The Forum initiated a campaign of intimidation against the members of the Christines. Pressure was exerted on a local Catholic college to cancel its invitation for a Christine-sponsored program. Many diocesan clergy suddenly cancelled their contracted agreements to speak before the Catholic women. The parish that had given birth to the organization hesitated to allow them to meet in its hall after being barraged by doorbell ringing, phone calls, and letters. To counter this pressure, the Christines obtained an interview with Cardinal McIntyre in the late spring of 1953 and presented a nineteen-point statement of the acts of intimidation to which the membership had been subjected. Cardinal McIntyre assured the group that lay Catholics were free to follow the dictates of their own consciences in political affairs, nowithstanding what position other laymen or clergymen might take in politics. The Chris-

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tines were nevertheless reduced to a mere handful, forced to reshape their discussion programs and withdraw from the arena of public affairs.

After the Christines recently co-sponsored a talk by John Howard Griffin, author of *Black Like Me,* Auxiliary Bishop J. Ward told the women their apostolate was to work "within the framework of the Church" and not to "go off into orbit." Those with grown families should, he added, "thank God for your period of inertia, stay home, perfect yourselves, and save your own souls!"

The U.N. and UNESCO controversy continued. On March 6, 1953, Cardinal McIntyre addressed The Bond Club, an organization of Los Angeles investment brokers. The Cardinal noted "the attempt by a powerful minority to impose on American schools a new philosophy which admits of no responsibility toward the principles on which this nation was founded." Singling out the National Education Association for their support of UNESCO, the Cardinal labeled this new philosophy "destructive because it attempts to supplant the patriotic and loyal spirit of American Citizenry with a world viewpoint that ignores what is proximate for that which is remote—and dubious at least."

Questioned as to why the Cardinal had spoken specifically about the N.E.A., Msgr. William E. North, former editor of *The Tidings,* pointed out that the N.E.A. contains "a clique . . . bent on the complete secularization of this country's schools, and the elimination of anything but public schools." Monsignor North referred to UNESCO and the Covenant of Human Rights, saying, "These are not the laws of the land, they are merely attempts by a crackpot secular group to substitute secularism for our Judeo-Christian heritage." When asked who belonged to this "crackpot" group, he replied, "Eleanor Roosevelt and the Russian delegates."

The Church and Freedom

There has been no indication in the last eleven years that the Cardinal's position on these matters has changed. Indeed, his conservatism has taken on other dimensions. Many in Los Angeles are alarmed by the restrictions on religious freedom. Pope John XXIII in his opening address to Vatican II spoke of religious liberty when he reminded the Council Fathers, "Today, however, Christ's Bride prefers the balm of mercy to the arm of severity. She believes that present needs are best served by explaining more fully the purport of her doctrines, rather than by publishing condemnations. . . . "

Following the opening session of Vatican II, many American Church leaders who sought to promote the "present needs of the Church" invited Father Hans Küng, presently dean of theology at the University of Tübingen in West Germany, to speak to American audiences. In the late fall of 1962, Loyola University of Los Angeles was contacted by a representative from Boston College about the possibility of Father Küng speaking in Los Angeles. The Jesuit university accepted April 3, 1963, as a tentative date. On January 8, 1963, permission from the Los Angeles Chancery Office was sought. Cardinal McIntyre was not in favor of a public lecture. On January 26, 1963, permission was sought for a private lecture to the Loyola faculty, and the Cardinal left that decision to Loyola officials.

In order to exercise the institution's academic freedom and avoid a head-on clash with the Cardinal, Loyola University had Father Küng speak on April 3, 1963, in a lecture closed to all but Loyola faculty members. The talk, "The Church and Freedom," which was enthusiastically received by thousands in Boston, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco, and St. Louis, stressed that " . . . every manifestation in the Church of lack of freedom, however harmless, however much under cover, whatever religious trimmings it may have, contributes toward making the Church less believable in the eyes of the world and of men in general; and that is a miserable disaster."

Some 100 seats were vacant in Loyola's St. Robert's Hall, but students representing all four of the area's Catholic colleges were outside an open window to listen and applaud. A university security officer told them to keep moving. The students began shuffling their feet back and forth. "Only peaceful picketing, officer," was their whispered reply. Inside the hall an observant person might have noticed a closet door open slightly from time to time, a group of students tightly huddled inside.

After it was clear that Father Küng's public lecture at Loyola University was "unacceptable" to Cardinal McIntyre, U.C.L.A. officials telephoned Father Küng in Spokane, Washington, on March 28, 1963, asking if he would speak April 3, 1963, as part of the University's Distinguished Speaker's Program. The previous week the Protestant theologian Paul Tillich had spoken before an overflow crowd. Father Küng immediately accepted the invitation with provision that permission be obtained from the Los Angeles Chancery. In a radical departure from diocesan procedures accorded Father Küng elsewhere, the Chancery Office informed U.C.L.A. that Küng would have to ask personally for this permission. Father Küng immediately complied via long distance phone call, but was told the request would have to be in writing. He honored the Chancery Office's directive that same day, with an air-mail, special-delivery letter. On Monday, April 1, Father Küng was informed that "shortness of time precluded the processing of the necessary documents attendant on giving him permission."

Among many letters of protest written to *The Tidings* and to the Los Angeles and national Catholic press by Los Angeles laity was a letter by U.C.L.A. professors

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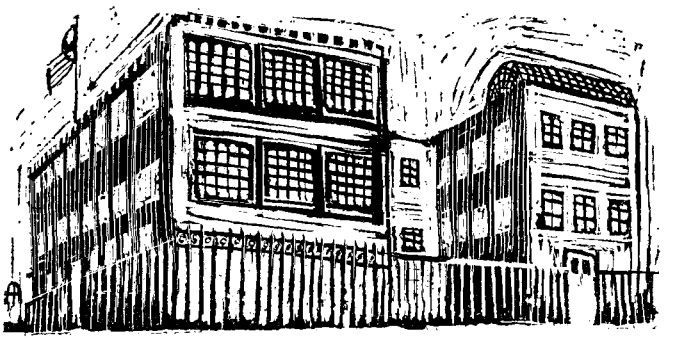
Edgar A. Jones, Jr., and G. Edward Philips. In commenting on the Chancery Office statement that "shortness of time had precluded the processing of the necessary documents" the professors observed, "we have been trying to visualize those documents ever since. Are they illuminated in the manner of monks in medieval gold script?"

A letter drafted by a twelve-man *ad hoc* committee of Catholic lay people along with the professors' letter carefully traced the chronology of events leading up to the Loyola and U.C.L.A. denials. In addition to this wave of protest from many of the laity in Los Angeles, the *Los Angeles Times* on April 2 stated that Father Küng had been denied permission to speak at U.C.L.A. by authorities of the Los Angeles Archdiocese. A *Tidings* editorial on April 5 claimed that not only was "shortness of time" a factor in Father Küng's request, but that "the simple fact of the matter is that no scheduled talk was cancelled. None was actually scheduled."

The Tidings emphasized that the talk was to be on "theological matters." U.C.L.A. officials claim that they had asked Father Küng to discuss the positive results of the first session of the Ecumenical Council. *The Tidings* editorial, commenting on *The Times* "maladroit" news story, said that "certain well-intentioned but overly enthusiastic individuals presumed to intrude into a field which is purely ecclesiastical" and that Father Küng deserved an apology because a shadow may have inadvertently been cast on his good name. "He is a scholar of international repute," *The Tidings* added, "and in good ecclesiastical standing. To imply, even indirectly, that he is under disapproval of Church authorities is to violate the basic standards of justice as well as charity." No mention was made in the editorial of events surrounding the Loyola talk.

The Unwritten Rules

Professors Jones and Philips observe in their letter that *The Tidings* editorial only makes the Chancery actions "all the more baffling." They note in conclusion: "The obvious restraint on Loyola, the obvious restraint on Father Küng at U.C.L.A., make all too believable the rumors of other instances of suppression which circulate among Catholics and non-Catholics alike in the Southern California area."



Many members of the Los Angeles archdiocesan clergy see in the professors' concluding statement a rare public admission of the problems they face as religious. One priest explained: " . . . in the Los Angeles area it has been made painfully aware to some priests that there are two unwritten rules for the clergy: no interfaith activity . . . do not disturb the faithful's consciences on racial problems." One cannot dismiss this priest's charges if one analyzes the progress of interfaith dialogue and concern for interracial justice in the Los Angeles Archdiocese. Aside from a recent address on "The Councils and Tradition" by the Cardinal Archbishop to a luncheon meeting of 1,600 Episcopalian women, no official ecumenical activity has been evident in the Los Angeles area.

Earlier in 1963 when a group of Los Angeles Catholics sought permission from the Chancery Office to conduct a public discussion on *Pacem In Terris* with Protestant and Jewish religious leaders participating, the Cardinal stressed the theme of "agreement on the first fundamental truths of religion." Reminding the group initially that they should "be aware of Canon Law regarding public discussion of controversial subjects," he found no objection to such a meeting. He added, however, that he could "see no advantage of such a discussion being a public matter or of interest to a general audience." "To begin with," he explained, "the examination which you propose, I assume would be after study and consideration of the magnitude of thoughts contained in *Pacem In Terris*. I doubt very much if the gentlemen you mention will have any adequate concept of the natural law or the common good. These primary factors are found at the very beginning of *Pacem In Terris* and some comprehension of them is necessary for a fruitful discussion. Surely, a general audience would have no idea of what would be spoken of if these features of *Pacem In Terris* were to be the subject of discussion." "You can understand," he concluded, "that any free discussion in an open meeting would be absurd, if not impossible—at least on an intelligent basis."

Catholic magazines such as *Ave Maria, Way, Worship, America* and *Commonweal* are considered dangerous at the seminary. The latter two are kept in the reserve stacks of the seminary library and can be obtained only through the permission of the seminary rector or through written permission from the Los Angeles Chancery Office.

Recently the Cardinal visited the diocesan seminary and demanded of the seminarians and soon-to-be-ordained priests a signed oath of "absolute obedience" to him. On his return home in December, 1962, from the first session of the Ecumenical Council, Cardinal McIntyre declared the Council was "a magnificent

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example of freedom of speech." He said there was "complete justice and opportunity for all who wished to express their views." The Los Angeles Archbishop, however, was one of 14 cardinals who addressed a letter to Pope John on November 24, 1962, expressing their "disquietude over false doctrines" being aired by some biblical scholars and their supporters.

Civil Rights Victory?

While laymen and clergy find all too believable the stories which circulate throughout the area regarding the suppression of religious liberty, their immediate concern today is the Los Angeles hierarchy's refusal to involve the Church on the local scene in the case of racial justice. Some concerned individuals readily point out that Pope John XXIII in *Pacem In Terris* implores Catholics to involve themselves in promoting the dignity and natural rights of men. He stressed: ". . . If a man becomes conscious of his rights, he must become equally aware of his duties. Thus he who possesses certain rights has likewise the duty to claim those rights as marks of his dignity, while all others have the obligation to acknowledge those rights and respect them . . ."

The struggle in Los Angeles to further man's natural rights has been, in the Catholic community, bizarre, fraught with failure, and recently beset with arguments among the laity over how demands for interracial justice can best be secured.

Shortly after World War II, a group of Los Angeles lawyers organized a Catholic Interracial Council, one of the first such councils in the United States. In 1948 they achieved a major civil rights victory. After unsuccessfully appealing to the Los Angeles Chancery Office for help, a priest who was serving in an almost exclusively Negro-Mexican parish requested the Catholic Interracial Council to see if legal action could be taken to overthrow California's 76-year-old anti-miscegenation marriage law. The priest noted that many interracial couples, being unable to have a legal marriage, nevertheless wished to receive the sacrament of matrimony. These people were refused on grounds of the law. Believing this showed the Church's indifference to racial discrimination, they fell away.

Acting on behalf of Andrea D. Perez and Sylvester S. Davis, the suit contended that they were members of the Catholic Church and the Church had no law forbidding marriage between the races. The county clerk in opposing this suit allowed his counsel to file an answer denying that this was the doctrine of the Church. Faced with disproving this allegation, assistance was sought unsuccessfully from the Los Angeles Chancery, but diocesan officials made explicitly clear that they did not want to get involved. An auxiliary bishop refused to publicly testify about the Church's beliefs saying that the case had no chance of success, that the Catholic Interracial Council was tilting at windmills, and that the affair would only give comfort to the Communists. The county clerk at the last minute decided to withdraw his denial, thus making it unnecessary to take further legal action to force episcopal testimony. On October 2, 1948, the California State Supreme Court in a 4-3 decision ruled the state anti-miscegenation law unconstitutional.

The Catholic Interracial Council also attacked the Jim Crow policy of the local Knights of Columbus, the archdiocesan girl's high school, Catholic hospitals, and residential restrictive pacts. In late 1948, however, the Council disbanded. One member explained the demise: "It evaporated in about this fashion: the Chancery objected to the use of the word 'Catholic' as imputing some kind of official authority (which had never been claimed), objected to the word 'Interracial' as being a 'subversive' word but had no objection to the word 'Council,' explained the virtues of 'prudence,' said the chaplain had 'resigned,' that another chaplain would not be appointed, and while opposed to segregation, seemed to have in mind some 500-year plan for integration. Being unable to accept these views, about this time the Council and its few surviving members disappeared over the horizon."

In late 1949 and early 1950 a group of Loyola University graduates attempted to form another C.I.C. group, but after Chancery Office pressure an organizational Communion breakfast was cancelled. Since 1950 an uneasy quiet became the hallmark of activity for interracial justice within the Los Angeles Catholic community.

In 1963, with demands for civil rights being heard throughout the United States, there was again activity in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. The laity in Los Angeles have become involved anew in the fight for racial justice. Sue Welsh, a young schoolteacher, organized a group called Catholics United for Racial Equality (CURE). Initially a letter was sent to Cardinal McIntyre acquainting him with the group's aims. It told him that they were seeking, as lay Catholics, "the leadership of our clergy and hierarchy in the struggle for interractial justice in Los Angeles." CURE pointed out to the Cardinal that the demand for civil rights in Los Angeles, as elsewhere, was a moral issue

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in itself and therefore basically religious. They deplored the silence of the Church in Los Angeles and called for nine specific initiatives.

Among the initiatives proposed by the CURE group were: formation of an officially approved Catholic Interracial Council, an Episcopal Letter on specific moral aspects of racial discrimination, the encouragement of more frequent sermons on social justice, discussion of Catholic teaching on race in Archdiocesan schools, and coverage of race-related news in *The Tidings*. In addition, CURE asked that wherever possible "Negro teachers be recruited to fill openings in 'white' secondary and parish schools to implement the knowledge of racial realities as part of a truly catholic education."

CURE members asked for an audience with Cardinal McIntyre, but no audience was granted. CURE took direct action and staged a four-day "sit-in" at the Los Angeles Chancery Office. The "sit-in" began on a Monday. Chancery officials paid no attention to the group except when the Rev. Edward C. Maddox, Archdiocesan Director of Cemeteries, attempted to get the names and parishes of the CURE members and to determine whether they were baptized Catholics. On Tuesday, Cardinal McIntyre came into the Chancery lobby and, without comment, presented CURE's Sue Welsh with a letter. His letter, published in the editorial columns of *The Tidings*, noted, "wherever the law and local custom permitted the Church has practiced integration in its Churches, in its schools and in its social service departments."

A striving for interracial justice, he said, should be "rendered quietly, consistently, and as a normal aspect of parish life among our people" and this would provide "the most hopeful and effective means of promoting racial justice and charity." Deploring "the creation of special commissions and committees and the development of specialized programs often formed in the heat of emotion and in the context of strong political overtones," he argued, these "can militate against the very ends they are designed to serve by arousing an acute sensitivity of racial differences rather than an absorption of them in the warmth of the brotherhood of Christ." Concluding his letter, Cardinal McIntyre noted that "No representative members" of the Negro Catholic community had indicated to him that they desired a change in his policies. He added, "In fact, some of them have expressed concern lest current agitation and demonstrations, even though well-intentoned, may impede rather than augment progress towards racial justice."

In a press conference the following Friday, Cardinal McIntyre emphasized that "The Negro is better treated in Los Angeles than anywhere in the United States." (A CURE spokesman later charged that there is not a single Negro living in "at least 20 suburbs surrounding Los Angeles.") Cardinal McIntyre (also according to the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*) further characterized what he chose to describe as CURE's demands for "black nuns in white schools and white nuns in black schools," as insulting to both Church authorities and the Negro community.

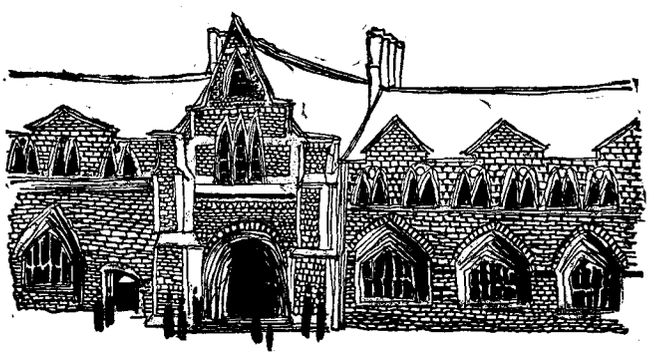
Later the Negro Catholic Action Committee sought to spell out a number of "grievances and requests" in a series of letters to the Cardinal. The Rev. John B. Thom, assistant secretary to the Cardinal, acknowledged "with respect" the group's expression of its views, but added that the committee's statements were contrary to fact or were misinterpretations of fact. Meanwhile, individual Negro Catholics called politely upon the Cardinal Archbishop to inform him that not all Negroes felt they were "better treated in Los Angeles than anywhere in the United States." In one conversation, Cardinal McIntyre mentioned to a Negro representative how he had carefully discussed a certain point on race relations with "your Cardinal" at the Ecumenical Council, viz., Loren Rugambwa of Tanganyika.

Catholic Human Relations Council

While the CURE "sit-in" lasted only four days, it created a great deal of controversy within the Catholic community. Some felt the CURE protest had been "imprudent," while others said they had focused a necessary spotlight on the need for racial justice within the Church in Los Angeles.

Many of those interested in promoting racial justice but opposed to the tactics CURE eventually used had meanwhile set up the Catholic Human Relations Council of Los Angeles. This group has no official status in the archdiocese. At one of its meetings, in September, 1963, California deputy attorney general Vincent Thorpe served as keynote speaker. A Chancery official tried unsuccessfully at the last minute to prevent the group from holding their first general meeting at St. Albert's Church in Compton, California, on January 12, 1964. Some 250 Los Angeles Catholics attended the meeting to hear the Rev. Donald Rooney, a Navy chaplain, speak on Pope John's *Pacem In Terris* and its relevance to the question of racial justice.

In February, the Catholic Human Relations Council made plans to hold their meeting with a Communion breakfast following Mass in the auditorium of the St.



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Jane de Chantal parish in North Hollywood. A Chancery official, however, phoned the pastor and said that the Mass and meeting would have to be cancelled, since no request had been made for permission to celebrate Mass in the auditorium. Council officers sought other quarters, and on February 9th, after celebrating Mass at St. Jane de Chantal, some 150 members drove down to a neighboring Jewish community center for their Communion breakfast.

In a February 29th editorial, *Ave Maria* sharply criticized Los Angeles archdiocesan officials for their action. "When priests in Baltimore permitted themselves to be arrested in protest against racial discrimination, the entire Church in America benefited from their action. In like manner, the unfortunate image arising from this series of incidents in Los Angeles does harm to the Church across the country." Immediately after the editorial, the Los Angeles Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools ordered *Ave Maria* removed from all school libraries.

At present, the Catholic Human Relations Council in Los Angeles, governed by a 27-man board of directors, is conducting an interracial home visiting program and maintains a speaker's bureau. The council is presently engaged in a California state-wide campaign to defeat an initiative which would make unconstitutional any state effort to pass a fair-housing law. In an educational tract now being widely distributed throughout the Southern California area, the Council notes that the present California Fair Housing Law "clearly conforms to Catholic moral teachings and the initiative against it runs counter to these teachings. . . . There is a grave danger that irresponsible groups will attract the support of uninformed citizens by not presenting the issue before us clearly and fully. Man's social rights and responsibilities and the role of government as interpreted by the 'Mind of the Church' may not be ignored."

Meanwhile, CURE has maintained frequent pickets in front of the Chancery Office. Holy Thursday evening they carried lighted candles, petitioning the Cardinal to make a statement regarding the California discrimination initiative. On Pentecost Sunday some 30 CURE pickets demonstrated outside the entrance to Fremont Place, a private residential park where the Cardinal lives. Both times a spokesman told the press, "The Cardinal cannot make a statement on a political issue." (Paradoxically, in 1958 when an attempt was made to reimpose state taxation on private schools, a forceful, well-organized campaign by Cardinal McIntyre, through the "Cardinal's Coordinating Committee," defeated the proposition with a 175,000 vote plurality in Los Angeles County.)

It was in this context that Father William DuBay announced he had written Pope Paul VI a 700-word cable charging Cardinal McIntyre with "gross malfeasance in office" and asking for his removal as Archbishop. The following Saturday, Fr. Terrence W. Halloran, assistant pastor of St. Mary's Church, issued a statement that while he did not approve of Fr. DuBay's sending the letter to the Pope, he agreed in principle with the priest's criticism of the silence of the Cardinal on local Catholic racial policies. Meanwhile, 50-60 parishioners from Fr. DuBay's church began a daily picket of the L. A. chancery offices seeking reinstatement of the priest and acknowledgement of civil rights issues as moral.

An incident related by one Los Angeles priest sums up in human terms the social, emotional and spiritual dilemma of many Los Angeles Catholics: "I was offering Mass for John F. Kennedy the day after the assassination. My server told me that he had met a fellow member of his anti-Communist group. He was much troubled because the other fellow, hearing he was coming to Mass for J. F. K., demanded to know, 'What's the matter with all you people? Why do you go to Mass for Kennedy? Don't you know he is in hell?' My server said to me, 'I now realize what has happened to us. Last night I looked at my wife and I was afraid of her. She has become a bundle of hate. And she has not been changed by Kennedy's assassination. What could possibly change her now? I got her into this. Now how can I get her out of it?'"

Because the voice of modern Catholic social action is heard today only as a whisper in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, the vast majority of one-and-a-half-million Catholics remain asleep to the role of the Church in the modern world.

Detritus

We cannot fail, we prophesied,
we amplified, cantering away
on confident legs, lifting
frost-clear minds and nerves
as cool as freshets.

All our avowals twirled up
like victory cries as we
travelled on to the tune
of pride and ambition which
kept us magnetized.

Then we reached this headland
far too suddenly, where
a flot-and-jetsam sea
halted us with finality
and entangled us.

But floating upon it we still
hear our old fervor hailing
us, yet close to our ears
spent minds and hopes
temporize helplessly.

DAVID CORNEL DEJONG

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Catholicism in Los Angeles—II

The DuBay Case

JOHN LEO

Los Angeles

ONE THING you notice immediately about Catholic Los Angeles is the number of people with a glittering repertoire of atrocity stories about life under Cardinal McIntyre. The treatment of Father Hans Küng, the suppression of the Catholic Interracial Council and the first two silencings of Father DuBay are all hopelessly old hat, and are not considered acceptable openers in any conversation. Neither are the hoary tales, all fully documented, about the Cardinal's various wars against psychiatry, liturgical reforms, U.C.L.A., UNESCO and the ever-present threat of domestic Communism. Time marches on, and there are new and devious forms of modernism to be exposed, new windmills to be slain.

The Cardinal's ecumenical conversation consists of "no," and Protestant observers at the Vatican Council are prohibited from speaking anywhere in the diocese; except for Pius XI on atheistic Communism, the encyclicals are suppressed, and *America* and *The Commonweal* are barred from the churches; priests are not allowed to be A.A. chaplains; dialogue Masses are forbidden, Newman work discouraged, and internationalism is depicted as so subversive that a Los Angeles matron recently admitted she had told in confession that she liked the U.N.

On top of this the Archdiocese lives under a permanent cloud of suspicion and fear. One spokesman for a Catholic College said the institution feels "frankly intimidated." The colleges don't know where they stand or what small action will be interpreted as defiance. Priests are called in to the chancery and made to submit, and then are often put under silence not to reveal the submission. At the meetings of the few surviving lay groups, strangers who are neither new members nor reporters frequently appear and take copious notes, presumably for the chancery office.

The DuBay case is one measure of what all this does to a twentieth-century diocese whose union with Rome is of the letter but not the spirit: the tensions that build in any priest who takes both his faith and his Cardinal seriously, and the eruptions that become inevitable in a closed and repressive ecclesiastical system.

The DuBay incident has no beginning—it is rooted in the nature of the regime—but the events that set the stage can be sketched briefly. They involve an incident at the Archdiocesan seminary, the disappearance of a priest, a forthcoming state-wide vote on fair housing, and the diocese's general response to the civil rights revolution.

Strawberry Sunday

The seminary incident took place the first Sunday of May—"Strawberry Sunday" as it is now known. John Howard Griffin, novelist and author of *Black Like Me*, was in town for a talk, and since he had a few hours to spare, a priest drove him up to St. John Camarillo Seminary on short notice to chat with a few seminarians. Because Griffin has bad legs, he was deposited and later picked up at a rear door, near the classroom where he was to meet the seminarians. As it happened, a large number of students were cleaning and cutting a supply of strawberries that had been donated to the institution. They were just finishing up when Griffin arrived, and one shout into the kitchen brought the whole group to meet him. About sixty seminarians, out of about one hundred, were involved.

It should be said here that there are two ways of taking initiatives in the Archdiocese. One way is to ask the Cardinal for permission, in which case the answer is usually no. The other is to take the small possible steps independently, in which case if the chancery finds out, the steps are likely to be construed as a personal conspiracy against the Cardinal. The latter is what happened here. The Cardinal reasoned that sixty seminarians could not have been gathered without long-term planning behind his back, and that Griffin's entrance and departure through a rear door was conclusive evidence of conspiracy. Every seminarian was thereupon interrogated individually by the rector, with the direct result that one was expelled, one quit, one was held back from ordination to the subdiaconate and fifteen were placed on probation. The Queeg-ian aspects of "Strawberry Sunday" have not been lost on the multitude.

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The priest who disappeared, a friend of Father DuBay's, was a dedicated, sensitive priest who had worked with the migrant workers for some time. All that is known is that he disappeared directly after being called in on the carpet by Cardinal McIntyre, and is now living outside the diocese, not as a priest. Just before the Vatican Council opened, the priest had written to the Cardinal his suggestions and ideas for the Council—as all Catholics had been urged to do by Pope John. The Cardinal wrote back what friends of the priest describe as a cruel letter telling him to mind his own business.

The proposal to be voted upon this fall is known as "the Initiative"—a reactionary attempt, inspired by the real estate lobby and backed by the Birchers, to upset the State's Fair Housing Laws and bar any future legislation along the same lines. The Initiative has been attacked, on moral grounds, by five Northern California Catholic bishops, including Archbishop McGucken of San Francisco, but Cardinal McIntyre has taken no position, insisting that the issue is "political" not "moral." The Initiative is given a good chance to pass, and not unexpectedly, its major support is rooted in the Los Angeles area.

The Archdiocese's general stance on race is, first, that there is no racial problem in Los Angeles, and second, that the demise of discrimination in general would be pleasant, but anything designed to bring it about is either dangerous or "political," not "moral," and hence no business of the Church. Demonstrations and marches are both dangerous and political, and are therefore not countenanced. Priests and nuns may not take part, and laity are encouraged not to. Laws are not the answer, either, since they are clearly political, and besides, you can't legislate morality.

As for preaching on race, every priest in the Archdiocese realizes that this directly jeopardizes his career. Some do it, and if the parish is a Negro one, or a rare enlightened white one (where such sermons are, of course, unnecessary) the priest may never be called in to answer for his lapse. The general pattern, however, is for a priest to be reprimanded and, perhaps, transferred for a sermon on race. Of those who are interested in the topic at all, most have learned not to do it. Father DuBay is one of the slow learners, and has now been yanked out of three parishes in four years over the racial question, once for preaching a sermon in a Birchy parish, once for inserting in the parish bulletin four paragraphs calling for integration of the community, and now, finally, for attacking Cardinal McIntyre head on.

He has also been threatened with suspension and called on the carpet several other times. Carpet-calling is a widely-practiced sport in Los Angeles. The current champion, and titular head of what the younger priests call the CCC—Cardinal's Carpet Club—has been carpet-called more than 25 times for preaching on race, and other infractions. Most recently, Father DuBay was carpet-called for presuming to use an experimental Mass and prayer booklet put out by Paulist Press. The Cardinal was particularly upset by the booklet's simplified version of the Our Father for children ("Our Father in Heaven, make Your name holy, etc.") and asked Father DuBay rhetorically, by what right he dared improve on the words set down for us by Christ.

Taking A Stand

Father DuBay is twenty-nine years old, appears slight, shy and intense, and by Los Angeles standards, he bears all the earmarks of a dangerous man. He reads Hans Küng and other contemporary theologians, is interested in the liturgy, follows the encyclicals, and is passionately concerned with the racial issue. For more than a year, he has told friends how the indignity inflicted on Negroes and Mexican-Americans bears in on him in an intensely personal way. As far back as February, 1963, he had been talking about the necessity of taking some public stand in defiance of the Cardinal, simply to clear his own conscience as a priest. The tension had given rise to a deep interest in the structures of the Church, particularly the lack of channels for public opinion, protests, hearings and redress of legitimate grievances. After lectures by people like Hans Küng and Daniel Callahan, he was on his feet, speaking with emotion on the issue. He has had an article on the need for democratic structures in the Church accepted by a priestly journal.

Along with several other priests, most of them not long out of the seminary, he had become convinced that every possible approach to Cardinal McIntyre on the racial issue had been exhausted—repeated appeals for audiences, phone calls, proddings from outside bishops, even picketing of the chancery office by laymen—and that nothing else was left but open protest, even if it meant suspension or excommunication.

With this attitude in mind, he and Father Terrence Halloran attended a meeting called Sunday, June 7, by Edward Keating, publisher of a Catholic-edited magazine called *Ramparts*. The meeting concerned the

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publicizing of a *Ramparts* exposé on the Church and race, written anonymously by a Northern California priest and featuring special criticism for Cardinal McIntyre. Most of those present were members of Catholics United for Racial Equality (CURE), a militant lay group that conducted picketing and a pray-in at the chancery last summer. Fathers DuBay and Halloran had worked closely with CURE for some time.

Keating wanted a press conference the following Wednesday, preferably with some local people on the panel. Father DuBay quickly volunteered, but Father Halloran refused, on the grounds that the *Ramparts* article was too strongly worded and in some ways inaccurate. Keating wanted two priests or none, so Father DuBay spent much of Monday and Tuesday on the phone trying to get an accompanying priest. Everyone he contacted refused. The general reaction was that the last stand against the Cardinal should be an independent event, not something attached to the coattails of a non-Los Angeles publisher and an anonymous non-Los Angeles priest.

One of the priests who thought the terrain for the battle was all wrong asked that time be allowed to assemble a group of at least twenty priests, since the Cardinal was unlikely to suspend that many all at once. But Father DuBay had made his commitment on Sunday and was fighting to reject any plan that would give himself an out. He began placing calls around the country to see what episcopal support he might expect if he took on the Cardinal alone.

Gross Malfeasance

Keating went ahead with his own plans, and the Wednesday press conference took place with two prominent Los Angeles Negroes on the panel. Due largely to one aggressive newsman who persistently demanded the documentation that Keating lacked, the conference fizzled badly. Newsmen were openly skeptical. Sensing a rout, one of Father DuBay's friends in CURE phoned him immediately and urged him strongly to save the situation by holding his own press conference the next day.

Father DuBay agreed, with the results that are now so widely known. In the cable to the Pope he asked the Cardinal's removal from office for "gross malfeasance" and "abuses of authority" in failing to exert moral leadership against discrimination, and for conducting "a vicious program of intimidation and repression" against priests, seminarians and laymen who do show such leadership. The catalogue of horrors that the priest opened to the press contained only one surprise: the public call for the Cardinal's dismissal, and this was soon to cut away the wide support he might quickly have rallied among both priests and laity. Only one priest, Father Halloran, joined the protest, and he was careful to dissociate himself from the idea of firing the Cardinal.

One side story may be interpolated here. The Catholic Human Relations Council, a lay group that is independent of the Cardinal but careful of his sensibilities, authorized its president, Emil J. Seliga, to write the Cardinal offering to do anything possible to help heal the dispute. All Seliga earned for his pains was an obnoxious letter from the Cardinal's secretary, one Father Eugene Gelb, dismissing him as "verbose." Chancery prose is an art form in Los Angeles, creatively pursued by men trained to appreciate and sustain the gap between Cardinal and laity.

Detaching the Ally

After relieving Father DuBay of his duties as parish administrator—the mildest first step possible under the circumstances—the chancery ignored him for three days, and went to work to detach his half-committed ally. Father Halloran was called in and asked by the Cardinal to renew his vow of obedience, which he was willing to do as long as no retraction was involved. The Cardinal delivered the usual two-minute talk to the effect that there is no racial problem in the diocese, ordered Father Halloran not to preach on race, and told him to stand by for the ceremony of renewing the obedience vow. With that, the Cardinal went on retreat —a strategic one as it turned out—and did not reappear until the case was settled.

By Monday the chancery had also called in Father Luke Lynch, an elderly semi-retired priest in Father DuBay's parish. Father Lynch, an independent soul who had been trying unsuccessfully for months to see the Cardinal on other matters, was miffed at the chancery's suggestion that he take over the parish and try to soothe the parishioners, who by now were up in arms, picketing and circulating petitions in behalf of Father DuBay. He reported the conversation back to the young priest, including a choice bit of chancery dialogue that perhaps Father DuBay should be put away for awhile in a hospital or sanitarium. Father DuBay had already retained a lawyer, partly to see that this did not happen.

Whether the Cardinal thought he had a potential schism on his hand is open to conjecture, but we do know, in the words an auxiliary bishop was to use at Father DuBay's capitulation ceremony, that the chancery considered it "one of the greatest crises in the history of the Archdiocese." The chancery moved swiftly to contain any restiveness.

At least one priest was called in, interrogated and warned. Another was called by the chancery on the pretext of asking something about his church's stations of the cross, and asked if, by the way, he had any silly ideas about getting mixed up with Father DuBay. The

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chancery also tried to call in the leading member of the Cardinal's Carpet Club, on the grounds that if anything was afoot, he would be involved, but he was out of town and presumably innocent. (As this article was going to press, it was learned from a source near the Chancery that this priest has since been banished from the Archdiocese for ninety days and ordered not to mention or discuss his departure with anyone.)

Called into the chancery on Tuesday, Father DuBay was received by the chancellor, Monsignor Hawkes, and given the choice of either renewing his ordination vow of obedience or leaving the diocese. The latter option was left ambiguous—it was not clear whether Father DuBay could make such a departure wearing a Roman collar. On the advice of his lawyer, Father DuBay asked for two days to think it over, and the time was granted as long as nothing was said to the press. Father DuBay left amid a swarm of reporters saying only "no comment" and "I am very happy."

The attorney flew out of town the next day to consult the best canon lawyer he could find. He reported back that under canon law Father DuBay had no case at all, but that a civil court injuction might be obtained if the Cardinal made an attempt to suspend him from his priestly duties. In this event, the lawyer said, Father DuBay would be automatically excommunicated, and since it would be a type of excommunication which only the Pope could lift, the Pope would then be in contempt of an American civil court. The lawyer said that U.S. courts are reluctant to interfere with an organization's internal affairs, whether church or union, unless, as is so clearly the case in the Catholic Church, there is no real machinery for hearing grievances and checking unjust commands.

Having said this much, however, the lawyer advised against a collision course. He pointed out that the Cardinal was not demanding a retraction, and he reasoned that Father DuBay had already made his point in public, and could honorably withdraw to protect his priesthood. This apparently fit Father DuBay's thinking, although according to his close friends he had been prepared to risk excommunication and defrocking if the Cardinal had driven him to the wall and asked a retraction. The vow of obedience presented no problem to Father DuBay, since he had insisted all along that his protest involved no disobedience at all, and that he was always willing to obey the Cardinal's "just commands."

On Thursday Father DuBay submitted. He and Father Halloran were driven to the seminary and in the presence of 200 priests, most of whom were there on retreat, they knelt to the Cardinal, renewed their vows of obedience and kissed his ring. Whatever his inflexibility on issues, Cardinal McIntyre has a reputation for being fatherly to priests in trouble, and in this case he was reported "visibly moved" by the ceremony. Each of the 200 priests filed up to kiss the Cardinal's ring and then preceded him out into the dining room, where they gave him a rousing round of applause. The revolt was over, or so it seemed.

Father DuBay is now a priest in perfectly good standing in the Archdiocese, at least officially. The only price he has paid thus far is that he is not free to preach the Church's clear teaching on race—but then very few of the priests in the Archdiocese are. Breaking its long silence, the chancery announced late Thursday that Father DuBay would be going on retreat and vacation and then—in late July—he would be reassigned, perhaps even to his old parish. But few are predicting a long career for him within the Archdiocese, and he may wind up in the African missions. He has requested this before.

The Good Tidings

The next day mopping up operations began in the Archdiocesan newspaper, the *Tidings*. A long page-one editorial that did not mention the young priest by name compared Cardinal McIntyre before Father DuBay with Christ before Pilate. (Pilate is a much-discussed figure in the *Tidings*. He made his last appearance March 27 as a symbol of the modern world.) The editorial spoke of an "ill-contrived and frenetic attempt . . . to cloud and besmirch" the Archdiocesan "record of accomplishment." The editorial also insisted that the principles of racial equality were known throughout the Archdiocese, since the *Tidings* itself had mentioned them "four times in the past ten months" and because of the Cardinal's "participating in the formation of three classic annual statements of the U.S. Bishops" on race.

Of the four *Tidings* editorials, one turned out to be a defense of Cardinal McIntyre after the lay picketing in his chancery. The other three consisted of brotherhood pieties that Governor Wallace would be unlikely to find offensive. As for the Cardinal, the last of the three Bishops' statements which he "participated in" was that of August, 1963, and his participation reportedly consisted of being the only bishop to refuse to support it. The statement was a very moderate one, condemning secularism as much as racism, and not even endorsing civil rights demonstrations or the March on Washington.

With the Archdiocese's priests silenced, its Cardinal silent, and its only two Catholic racial-justice organizations operating without chancery approval, the "record of accomplishment" comes down to the fact that Archdiocesan institutions are integrated. Negro Catholics are profoundly unimpressed. "All that means is that I can have an operation at a Catholic hospital," one Negro leader told me. "The schools and churches carefully follow the demarcations between white and black areas. In effect, they aren't integrated at all, and a lot

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of pastors are working to keep things that way." In the issue of the *Tidings* that tried to justify the Cardinal, much was made in a news story about the new Verbum Dei High School: "As are all Catholic institutions here, its student body is integrated, approximately 54% Negro and 46% white." The story neglected to mention that all but one or two percent of the whites are Mexican-Americans. The new school is solidifying de facto segregation by cooping up in one place the two minorities that so many Catholic Birchers find offensive.

One of the little noticed parts of Father DuBay's presentation to the press has stirred the Negro community profoundly. That was his quotation of Cardinal McIntyre's remark, made in private conversation that "after all, white parents have a right to defend their daughters." The statement was accepted by the Negro community as the clearest indication to date of how the Cardinal really feels. Whatever his private beliefs on race, Cardinal McIntyre has rarely inserted foot in mouth publicly. The last time he did so was nearly a year ago when he observed that Los Angeles Catholic Negroes were satisfied with archdiocesan policies. Catholic Negroes, who hadn't been aware of this satisfaction, bombarded the chancery with requests for an opportunity to set the Cardinal straight, but he successfully evaded the requests until he left for the Vatican Council two months later.

Far from being satisfied, Catholic Negroes in Los Angeles have to struggle to see in the Archdiocesan position something other than outright hypocrisy. One focus of attention is the Cardinal's familiar and crisp distinction between "moral issues" and political issues." The flip side of this long-playing record is that any time you can get a politician on either side of any issue, the Church must remain silent. But in Los Angeles this is true only if the issue involves race. The chancery did not hesitate to order sermons against the possible loss of tax-exemptions for the Church in California. Nor did the *Tidings* show any embarrassment in endorsing two conservative school board candidates, or suggesting, as it did twice, that Catholics join the John Birch Society. And when Senate candidate George Murphy was a sudden and mysterious choice for commencement speaker at Marymount College three days before the Republican primary, the Cardinal showed no signs of agonizing when he introduced Murphy as an old and dear friend.

In short, the Cardinal's high-minded abstractions and careful distinctions mask a positive decision to do nothing on race. In a city where about 90 percent of the Negroes live in "substantially segregated areas"—as the Community Relations Educational Foundation reports—the Catholic Church is deeply committed to the status quo and quite willing to move against any priest who isn't.

Stillborn Movement

One thing about the DuBay episode is that it failed to polarize opposition to the Cardinal on the race issue, although that opposition is now considerable. The young priests closest to Father DuBay, and most concerned with racial injustice, say frankly that they wished the whole affair could have been avoided. By acting with such haste, they say, Father DuBay prevented support from materializing, and when he combined the inevitable protest with a call for the Cardinal's dismissal he assured that the movement would be stillborn. "Maybe I'm looking at this through clerical eyes," one of these priests told me, "but loyalty to a bishop is at the heart of what it means to be a priest. I would have been willing to say or do almost anything else, but asking that my bishop be dismissed is just too much."

Many others wonder about the CURE people around Father DuBay. One of these men, the one whose telephone call to Father DuBay triggered the whole incident, told me he was trying to turn the episode into as big a hullabaloo as possible. At one point during the two-day waiting period he told the press that Father DuBay was about to break a command of silence, though this was not so and the priest had not authorized the statement. Also without authorization, he phoned the Western Christian Leadership Conference, Martin Luther King's organization, and asked if they would have a job for a defrocked priest. Another close friend of Father DuBay who put out all the press releases, made a television spectacular out of Father DuBay's Sunday Mass and was seen moving through the crowd outside the church urging people to "Go up and shake his hand. Go shake his hand." The pictures of this scene in the Los Angeles papers, featuring a smiling Father DuBay with arms spread high over a cheering throng, had an unsettling effect on many who feared a legitimate protest was turning into a personal war and popularity contest between the Cardinal and the young priest. In the Los Angeles

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Times, the flamboyant picture of Father DuBay before the multitude was printed next to a picture of the Cardinal quietly going about his business, handing out diplomas at a nursing school.

Most of the clergy appear to have debarked from Father DuBay's train at one stop or another. "The vast majority of the pastors, most of them Irish, opposed the whole thing," said one priest. "They think DuBay is a young whippersnapper who deserves everything he's going to get. Most of the others disapproved of publicizing the call for the Cardinal's dismissal. Make your case to Rome, O.K., but don't spill it all out in the open." Others felt that it had to be spilled out publicly, but that Father DuBay was not careful enough in doing it. "Terrorized?, No, we're not terrorized," said a priest. "There is an aura of fear, yes. There's no doubt about that. But you can pick your spots. A lot depends on what you do and where you do it. I preached against the Initiative twice, but in my parish this doesn't take any courage. In Birch territory it's a different story. If you talk even vaguely about race, the Birchers burn up the Cardinal's wire and you're down the chancery Monday morning to answer for it."

Another school of thought, which appears very small, is satisfied that Father DuBay has made an important contribution. "His head will roll, sure," said a layman. "And I seriously doubt if it will have any effect on the Cardinal's thinking. He hasn't got that kind of mind. But now the pressures on him across the country will grow, and we may see the other bishops twisting his arm into joining the rest of the Church on this issue."

At a dinner conversation, a priest said he thought the Church should be slow to condemn specific acts of disobedience out of hand, since some of the most promising movements in the Church, including the founding of the Paulist Fathers by Isaac Hecker, were founded on such acts.

A prominent layman said he thought Father DuBay had had a great opportunity, but there was no assurance the outcome would be happy. "He's absolutely right in his point that the Church structures need reforming, with an eye for grievance machinery, but by introducing the issue here, he has served to draw attention away from the sin of segregation and the number one racial issue in this state—the need to defeat the Initiative."

A Textbook Case

Whatever the fate of the Initiative, the major impact of the episode is likely to be on Church structures, and many in Los Angeles are hoping that the dispute over Father DuBay will induce some liberal bishop to press for more just grievance machinery at the Vatican Council. Despite the fact that under canon law a priest has recourse to the Pope, in practice the time-honored procedure has usually been to refer complaints back to the bishop against whom they are being made. It is still the only legal system in the world where the accused can become the judge. The result is that a Church which stresses so much the inalienable rights of persons in society, recognizes no inalienable rights within its own body.

"We have a system where the grossest injustice can be done, and there is no right of petition," said a Los Angeles lawyer. "It is the general spirit of the law that first, you should have a substantive standard to apply, and second, somewhere you know you can go to apply it. The Church has neither. The most ordinary union member is better off as far as getting a grievance aired than a pastor or a curate who may have served the Church faithfully for forty years. All the road we have traveled this century, including the DuBay case, points the way toward a bill of rights within the Church."

The Los Angeles Archdiocese is almost a textbook case in the weakness of the system. In Los Angeles there are no safety valves—no traditions or independent Catholic institutions, even conservative ones, strong enough to neutralize arbitrary use of power. There are no forums, no sympathetic ear at the chancery, no letters to the editor allowed in the *Tidings.*

Tight control is exercised over action and sermons, and where possible, over ideas and reading material. If a pastor speaks up, he may find himself saddled with an especially incompetent curate, or an assistant with an incapacitating personal problem. If an assistant steps out of line, he may be transferred to a remote area and never get his own parish. Outside the right wing, alienation and fear are the normal attitudes, transmitted downward from the chancery and touching the daily lives of the laity. The system encourages careful careerists and lays a crushing burden on priests who see the gap between conscience and what the Cardinal allows, and can do nothing about it.

The disproportionate shadow cast over Catholic life by the chancery shows up in the arrogance of its functionaries. Fear is the ordinary note struck in communications. Priests commit as much as possible to writing against the day of a threat from the chancery. Some won't speak by phone for fear their lines are being tapped. Others are driven to compiling dossiers on the sickness of the Archdiocese with the wan hope of some day making a presentation to Rome.

In this context, eruptions like Father DuBay's—battles fought on short notice with no hope of winning—become more inevitable, and possibly will become more frequent. "This is just the beginning," said one priest. "As long as the usual means of redress are choked off, there are going to be more explosions. It will happen again and again."

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THE SCREEN

Lights, Action, Camera

BECAUSE of its nature, the cinema medium went in for adventure films right from the beginning; and through the years, it has made a plethora of lively items ranging from swashbuckling tinged with humor to more serious enterprises touched by hazard and death. Even now our screens are crowded with adventure that runs the gamut. None of the new movies quite comes up to last month's hilarious French parody on all hit-and-run chases, "That Man from Rio," but some of them have enough appeal to attract a wide variety of tastes.

For moviegoers who like their adventure in a musical comedy vein, there's "The Unsinkable Molly Brown," which tells the rags-to-riches story of a foundling who is raised by hillbillies in the backwoods of Colorado and determines, when she discovers she's a girl, to set out in the world and marry a rich husband. Molly only gets as far as Leadville when she falls in love with and marries miner Johnny Brown who promptly strikes a new lode that brings in forty million bucks. If you can survive the first part of this film in which Debbie Reynolds' Molly whoops it up as a hillbilly, you'll probably find the succeeding episodes rather amusing, especially those in which Molly and Johnny build a gosh-awful house in Denver, get snubbed by the social set, go to Europe to acquire a veneer of culture, and return to Denver with their new-found lord-and-lady friends to put the local snobs in their place.

Although this tale is rather thin, and Molly, except for her determination to come out at the top of the heap, is not particularly admirable, and Meredith Willson's musical score is no great shakes, the movie is done with a vitality and speed that make one think that it has more than meets the eye and ear. Peter Gennaro's choreography is lively and sweeps the viewer into the routines. Debbie Reynolds plays, sings, and dances with unlimited gusto. Newcomer Harve Presnell, who resembles the youthful Howard Keel, sings well as Johnny who is stalwart in the magnificent Colorado scenery or in the red plush decor or mingling with Europe's elite. And the supporting cast, especially Martita Hunt, Ed Begley, and Hermione Baddeley, are fine. But the movie itself is far too long, and parts are not unsinkable.

THE MEXICAN "Yanco" could be considered an adventure film as it covers the experiences of a boy prodigy who is in love with music, especially the violin. Written and directed by Servando Gonzalez, the documentary film-maker, "Yanco" has some stunning black-and-white photography of the Indian village where the boy lives and the natural settings around it. I suppose I should like this movie since so much of it is pure cinema with a minimum of dialogue, no subtitles, and a large share of lovely music; but the little boy, who is most attractive, is also exceedingly sensitive, and the poor fellow goes through a series of woes as he struggles to commune with nature through music. The film is a curious mixture of sentiment, realism, and poetic mysticism; and I'm afraid the whole thing is too artsy-craftsy for my tastes. Devotees of music and Mexico will no doubt lap it up.

DEVOTEES of far-out movies will be delighted with "The Troublemaker" which was put together by the wacky group who started the off-Broadway cabaret-theater known as The Premise. Theodore J. Flicker directed and had a hand in the screenplay with Buck Henry, both of whom appear in the film, most of which was made in and around Greenwich Village. Their picture has a story about the adventures of a chicken farmer (Tom Aldredge) who comes to New York to open a coffee house and soon finds himself so overwhelmed with so many palms that have to be greased that it becomes doubtful if he will ever get his place started. Some of the scenes provide hilarious satire and bright cinematic touches, but unfortunately some are done so haphazardly that they seem to be improvised as the film-makers went along. This is a technique that works well in a cabaret but gives a movie an artificial atmosphere that detracts considerably from the well-aimed barbs. It also makes the picture, every now and then, seem like the work of amateurs who aren't half as funny as they think they are. This is too bad because the tale of the innocent booby in the wicked big city is always amusing.

ANOTHER MOVIE that seems amateurish was made by the very professional and experienced Andrew Stone, who produced, directed, and wrote it, is the sometimes-comedy "Never Put It in Writing." Set in Ireland and England, it features Pat Boone and many of the Abbey Players and tells of the zany adventures a young insurance man (Boone) has when he writes a letter in Ireland telling off his London boss, and then has to get the letter back from the mail because the boss has just made him a vice-president. Helped by a friend (Milo O'Shea) and a cute post-office clerk (Fidelma Murphy) Boone has a wild time pursuing that letter. Some of the episodes are exciting, some amusing, but the thin story is stretched too far and is occasionally as amateurish as "The Troublemaker." Perhaps Andrew Stone, who is a specialist at mystery thrillers, should stick to his last.

THE JAPANESE have sent over a quite unusual adventure film, a film somewhat reminiscent of some of Steinbeck's wandering tales in *Tortilla Flat* and *The Wayward Bus*, but it still has enough local color to make it definitely Japanese. Very well directed by Yuzo Kawashima, "This Madding Crowd" relates the experiences of a world-weary writer who goes to rejuvenate himself

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in a little old-fashioned village outside of Tokyo. The people he encounters and the stories he learns would fill a book, but the apathetic writer just soaks it all in—and perhaps some day something will come of all this. Something certainly should, because the characters he meets are fascinating, and in a way, the writer is too, even through he seems never to react to the unusual tales or to the obvious tricks these backwoods people play on a so-called city slicker. "This Madding Crowd" has some stunning color photography, and while the picture is episodic and requires a certain amount of work on the part of the viewer in trying to keep the stories and characters straight, the rewards are well worth the effort. Sometimes bawdy, often poignant, this is an adventure film that is a strictly adult affair.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

CORRESPONDENCE

"On Women Novelists"

Grand Rapids, Mich.

TO THE EDITORS: Miss Doris Grumbach's statement in the May 8 COMMONWEAL that *she* can think of only one woman novelist of first rank in recent European literature, namely Sigrid Undset, is like a statement that one can think of only one citizen of Stratford-on-Avon who attained much of a literary reputation.

I realize that Miss Grumbach's purpose in her article was to point out that if women were allowed by the dominant males to wander about the world, to participate actively in battles, to fight bulls, and acquire husbands at will, they would have something worth writing novels about. Only this dominance and perhaps the feminine mystique has deprived the world of Mama Hemingways and Leona Tolstoys. My objection to her analysis of the current dearth of good women novelists is, first, her quantitative standards of artistic excellence; second, her implied assumption that the traditional concerns of women are less worthy of attention than those of men; and third, her denigration of what women have so far contributed to the novel.

The case of the much neglected Mme. Undset is one in point. Her concern was chiefly with the great question which transcends sex differences, Man's relationship with God, and her treatment of this question was stronger, more sweeping, and more engaging (at least to this reader) than the treatment of any other question by any of the masculine masters mentioned in the article. To ask why she has not had more successors is again like asking why no Italian has in 700 years come up with anything greater than *The Divine Comedy*.

If women are not writing first-rate novels today the fault does not lie in women's traditional psychology (if there is such a thing) or her lack of contact with "facts," but perhaps lies in the stars which appoint the time when genius appears. DOROTHY G. CLINGMAN

Silver Spring, Md.

TO THE EDITORS: Doris Grumbach's article on women novelists reinforces Elizabeth Hardwick's essay on the occasion of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex;* it seems to me that, in the main, both articles assess the lot of the woman writer with accuracy. However, may I go a little further in suggesting possible reasons for the failure of women writers to make that leap from the fine minor novel to the major?

I should think that by now the notion of the solitary genius has been pretty well demolished and that we are more aware of the forces that shape the development of an artist. The novelist does not create himself out of his own skin but feeds of necessity on varied fare. Tolstoy gobbled up a vast number of lives—wife, children, friends—in return for his novels. Dickens did likewise, and we all know that the torments of Dostoyevsky and Lawrence also involved the sacrifice of lives of families, friends, disciples. There is about these men an aspect of high seriousness; not only did they take themselves and their work seriously, but they found a reflection of their estimate in the eyes of those around them.

It is no accident that George Eliot produced work that has the power and impact of the best nineteenth century fiction; indeed, except for a few novels of Dickens, it is difficult to think of another Victorian writer with her power and scope. But Eliot found a man and friends who greeted her ambitions with respect; *she* did not have to hide her work when guests used the parlor. The same is true for Virginia Woolf, named by Mrs. Grumbach as the only significant English woman writer of our century who could be named alongside her masculine colleagues.

This sort of respect is by no means the common experience of women writers and intellectuals even today. Go to a faculty party, for instance, where one might most expect to find such respect, and ten-to-one the woman faculty member, unless she is exceptionally determined, will be shunted off with the wives, while her colleagues enjoy their undisturbed masculine solidarity. In book reviews, her books are lumped together under the heading of *women writers;* in a recent review in one of the lit'ry quarterlies, a gaggle of dreadful books by women writers were treated as examples of the "feminine sensibility," while the horrors of the books by men were detailed separately, not as examples of the "masculine sensibility," although, God knows, they had enough in common. Does anyone review a half-dozen recent novels by men under the heading of *Men*

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Vriters? No, they are accorded the minimal respect of ›eing treated, for better or worse, as the work of indi-iduals.

Am I being oversensitive? Consider the tone of Wilrid Sheed's airy dismissal of the problems raised by *The Feminine Mystique*. Consider the letters from ›riests in response to Rosemary Lauer's article on Women in the Church."

Unless a woman writer is exceedingly fortunate, she vill not find confirmation in the world around her that ıer expectations deserve to be taken seriously. That she ıopes—talent willing—to write major fiction? She may vell find a certain contempt or the half-humorous dis-nissal with which the wilder dreams of children are greeted.

The same is true of the material with which she gen-erally deals. It is expected that women should find war ınd adventure, masculine sex fantasies and the world ›f pubs of consuming interest, that they should acqui-esce in masculine portraits of women, no matter how ınattractive (in his autobiography, Wallace Fowlie ıas some amusing pages detailing what happens when ıis students at Bennington do *not* acquiesce, and he is stunned). But feminine portraits of men are commonly lerided (by male reviewers) as inadequate and the *›ita domestica* is generally considered to be of interest o women alone. Not that I am arguing for praise of nadequate women writers on the ground of good in-entions, but only for the acceptance of the potential ichness of their material.

Now, having said all this, I must point out that both Elizabeth Hardwick and Doris Grumbach neglected he one undoubtedly major work by a woman writer, ı book, in fact, that is one of the very greatest novels ever written, *The Tale of Genji* by Lady Murasaki. The conditions of *her* life, in tenth-century Japan, were far from propitious, yet there it is, a masterpiece by he highest standards. And that defies all further com-ment!

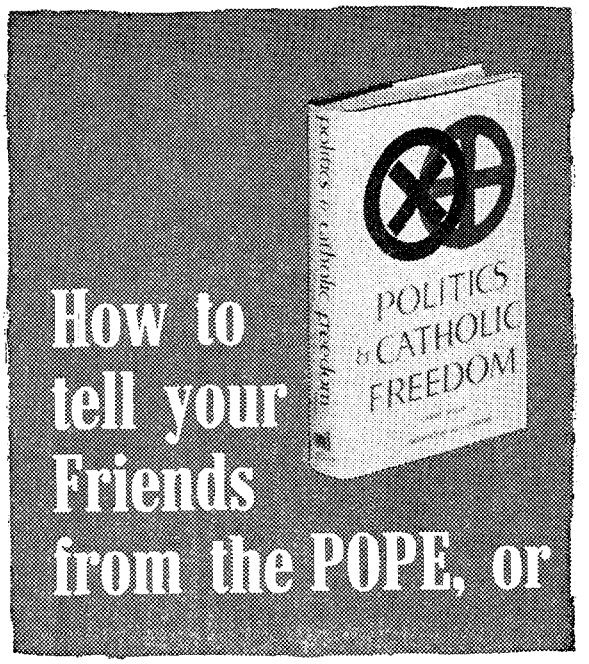
MICHELE MURRAY

"The Decline of Labor"

Pacific Palisades, Calif.

TO THE EDITORS: Though U.S. unions have been remarkably successful in achieving worker's goals, this is not relevant for Sidney Lens ["The Decline of Labor," June 19], who apparently laments the fact that the ideologist union organizers of the 1930's did not achieve their particular "beautiful tomorrows." This is a personal view which enables Mr. Lens to see "labor's decline" and "the sad fact that labor today is involved in no great causes."

Nonsense. Mr. Lens' problem (and the problem of most other current "liberal" critics of unions) is that his own goals for unions were never bought by workers and union leaders. He may have thought the unions



A guide for Catholic liberals who would like to excommunicate certain Catholics for their "anti-Papal" political opinions

POLITICS AND CATHOLIC FREEDOM

by GARRY WILLS

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were headed in the "right" direction in the thirties, but this was merely an illusion. Once the economy moved out of the great depression it became clear that workers were seeking only bread and butter goals, i.e., wage and job benefits. That one's own view of the "good society" differ from the view held by union leaders and members does not justify a conclusion that labor is declining. It must be clear to the objective observer that unions in the U.S. perform a highly important social service.

The matter of union staff organizing which gives Mr. Lens so much difficulty can be rather simply explained. If collective bargaining is a desirable procedure for determining conditions of employment within a business organization, it is similarly desirable within a union organization. Union staffs perceive this. One might expect Mr. Lens to see the point also, but apparently his faith in collective bargaining is not sufficient to enable him to do so. WALTER FOGEL

"Responsible Parenthood"

Notre Dame, Ind.

TO THE EDITORS: Your editorial on responsible parenthood called for the focussing on this topic of many talents, mentioning in the first place that of the scientists. Yet no article by a scientist appeared. Perhaps it is just as well, for dialogue is extraordinarily difficult between the scientists and the scholastic philosophers who are responsible for what we call the "Catholic" position. We scientists would be in the same boat as our medieval predecessors who dissected an animal and then went in and tried to discuss it with their colleagues who were busy dissecting the works of Aristotle. Science was able to go ahead eventually only by abandoning altogether the attempt at dialogue within a system of *closed* definitions, incapable of expanding to cover new experience. Ultimately the Aristotelian system was abandoned everywhere but in the Catholic Church where it now functions as the most effective dialogue-stopper ever devised.

This is how it works. On the basis of limited experience you define (set limits to) the nature of a thing: this it can do; this it can't do. Thereafter anything outside of that definition is authomatically unnatural for the thing in question, because natures cannot change. Even if we get new insights into the thing, even if it shows potentialities never before actualized, the definition cannot be expanded to include this new knowledge. And so, well armed with a clear knowledge of the natural limits beyond which a thing cannot go, the Church's spokesmen have at various times been able to defend slavery, to disparage the intellectual abilities of women, underestimate the capabilities of science, oppose the rise of democracy, and tolerate segregation. I have every confidence that the Church can back out of her birth control position as successfully as she was able to back out of the above positions but the birth control controversy will have failed to achieve its most valuable contribution if it does not dispose once and for all of that closed, pre-Christian philosophy which has driven the Church repeatedly into untenable positions and made her seem the inevitable enemy of human progress.

The new psychological insights into marriage and the marriage act which cry out for an expanded definition of their nature have been well covered in your issue of June 5. I would just like to mention some physiological insights which make the scholastic position seem like a description of a different universe. Scholastic philosophers have maintained that it is "unnatural" to start an action and then inhibit some of its consequences. Physiologists have discovered that life would be impossible without this "unnatural" process. It is the basis of that exquisitely balanced control which can start a multi-functioned reaction and then limit its effects to the types and amounts required at the moment. The potentialities of our metabolic reactions are so greatly in excess of need and so diverse in the directions they may take, that only an enormously complex system of inhibitors can keep them in check. Yet this feed-back system of control by inhibition, which is the basic technique of biological control, suddenly becomes "unnatural" when the mind of man becomes part of the system, as if an inhibitor elaborated by man's mind is less natural than an inhibitor elaborated by a nerve cell. The whole trend of biological evolution, towards ever more centralized and integrated control of vital functions, suddenly becomes "unnatural" when it gets to man, who must therefore surrender himself to the automatisms of his body. Yet even from the biological point of view, man is incomprehensible without the creations of his mind, his tools, clothing, shelter, speech, organizations, etc. They must be included even in his biological definition if that definition is to explain man's role in nature, his ability to survive in the most inhospitable environments, and cover a range beyond that of any other mammal.

Philosophers turn to the biologist to tell them that an ovulatory cycle of 28 days, more or less, is natural, and that a drug induced cycle of 3 years would be unnatural. The biologist can only tell them that under present circumstances, for particular situations, the opposite may be true. For the scholastic philosopher, it is unnatural for man to rise above his previously observed limitations. For the biologist, it would be unnatural for man to fall below his presently achieved level of integration and control. It is an extraordinary turnabout that "Godless" scientists insist on including man's mind in the definition of what is natural for man, while "religious" philosophers insist on excluding it.

JULIAN R. PLEASANTS

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The "High Church" Tradition of Anglicanism

The Quest for Catholicity: The Development of High Church Anglicanism. By George Tavard. Herder and Herder. $5.95.

by David L. Clark

THIS "study in Anglicanism" by a Roman Catholic ecumenicist marks a new stage in the Dialogue movement. Father Tavard, who has done much to further friendly dialogue between separated Christian brethren, feels so secure in these new bonds of friendship, that he has devoted much time and research to a frank appraisal of a neighboring family in divided Christendom. In order to allow scholarly precision, he has wisely limited himself to just one line of that diverse family tree known as Anglicanism: the "High Church" tradition.

As an Anglican, I find Father Tavard a most welcome guest. He is gratifyingly aware of the mainstream of theological life in Anglicanism, and does not practice that unnerving habit of continually having an eye on the closet hiding that family skeleton: the debate over episcopal succession in Reformation England. As an historian, I rejoice in the growing trend of scholarship to which this book contributes: the rising above the parochial ruts so long followed by church historians who have studied mainly their own traditions.

Father Tavard is unequivocal in his conviction that there is no future for ecumenical dialogue in the claim of some Anglicans, past and present, that the Catholic Church is divided into the three main branches of Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy and Anglicanism. But one of his aims is to draw attention of Roman Catholics to the fact that the Anglican claim to Catholicity has not just rested on a pretension that a non-Roman communion with unbroken episcopal succession can go its separate way. One of the reasons that Father Tavard entitles his work *The Quest for Catholicity* is that he recognizes the recurring realization of Anglican theologians that to be Catholic means to be in dialectical confrontation with the greater Catholic tradition, past and present.

There are two other main reasons behind the title *The Quest for Catholicity*. One stems from the current popularity in Anglican thought of Frederick Denison Maurice's definition of Catholicity in terms of yet-to-be-achieved comprehensiveness; the notion furthered by Charles Gore's "liberal Catholicism" of an earlier generation, and by recent discussion of mergers. The most pointed reason for Father Tavard's title is his conviction that Anglicanism today faces a cross-roads, and must decide whether to accompany Protestantism down the road to comprehensiveness or to follow the lead of earlier Anglo-Catholics who chose dialectical confrontation with Rome.

Father Tavard resists making pronouncements about the validity of the current Anglican quest in which "old-fashioned Catholicity gives way to comprehensiveness." He is obviously committed to open-minded dialogue between Roman Catholics and Anglicans about the choices Anglicanism faces. Thus, he ends with open-ended questions: Is the vision of comprehensiveness a blind-alley, leading only to the loss of Catholicity, or the true wave of the future "ensuring continuity between a neo-Catholicism embracing the Protestant communions and the older Catholicism from before the Reformation?" Father Tavard's epilogue, in which he presents his questions about the present cross-roads, is frustratingly brief and cryptic. Apparently, this is purposeful in order to allow his work to be valued as an historical study and not categorized as merely one individual's opinions about Anglicanism today. Certainly this work, the bulk of which is carefully researched and documented analysis of sixteenth through nineteenth century High-Anglican thinking about Catholicity, deserves to be received as a most solid contribution to historical scholarship. But his historical commentary and his depiction of the present cross-roads suffer from an all too common myopia.

Father Tavard fails to acknowledge one of the most distinctive aspects of the Anglican "quest for Catholicity": the struggle to disentangle essential Catholicity from Western cultural accretions. Perhaps the most basic reason that Father Tavard overlooks this struggle is that his methodology is narrowly limited to analysis of theological statements. He makes no attempt to relate theological motifs to the broader intellectual and spiritual movements of each age. For example, he does not relate sixteenth century discussion of "primitive Catholicity" to the overarching Renaissance assumption that Western culture represented a steady decay from the primitive Golden Age. He makes no mention of C. W. Dugmore's much-discussed recent thesis that pre-Reformation English theologians distinguished between Scholastic formulations of Transubstantiation and the more primitive

The Grandmother

This is a daguerreotype
of the Irish grandmother
come from Wicklow
with a bit of heather

the customs officer
did not find
dried into her bundle.
Mountain rock, sand,

silence, work—these
she knew.
But here, unbelieving,
the blazing blue

eyes stare
at the black click
of the photographer.
It was like

that when she died:
lonely, open eyes
asking that Wicklow
be paradise.

SISTER MAURA, S.S.N.D.

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Ambrosian formulation. Contact with Eastern Orthodoxy was one way in which High-Church Anglicans manifested their committment to the struggle of disentangling Catholicity from Western culture. Father Tavard only mentions one instance of this, and that the example that so easily can be interpreted as an eccentric and desperate attempt of the Non-Jurors to become aligned with a larger Catholic body after expulsion from the Church of England. There is much more to be told about Anglican-Orthodox confrontation. There is much more to be told about how Anglican scholars pioneered patristic studies in their search for non-Western Catholicity. There is much more to be told about how Anglican scholars today reach out for renewed contact with Catholic traditions and teaching which they feel is not monopolized by a communion so heavily burdened with the accretions of Western culture.

Father Tavard's methodology predetermines his characterization of Anglicanism's present quandary in a way that is most clearly indicated in his statement that: "Anglo-Catholicism today is based on an identity of doctrine between England and Rome, or rather on the fact that Anglo-Catholics *may* hold in the Church of England the doctrines that *must* be held in Rome." There would be nothing wrong with this statement if it was simply intended to apply to the highly partisan minority which is defined in those terms. Father Tavard's line of reasoning is not completely clear on this point, but he seems to assume that his definition applies to the mainstream of High-Anglican thinking, past and present. This simply is not accurate. Those who do define their "Anglo-Catholicism" in such a way are usually hyper-conscious of dogmas and cults that have tended to develop as Roman Catholic identity symbols since the Reformation.

There is a much larger group within Anglicanism, devoted to the "quest for Catholicity" as something doctrinally, institutionally and historically rooted, as something to be proclaimed and not just awaited through mergers. Such Anglicans eschew the label of "Anglo-Catholic" because of its association with nineteenth-century Tractarianism, which tended to identify Catholicism with Medieval culture as filtered through Romanticism. Many such Anglicans see another choice that can be made at the present cross-roads, besides the two alternatives Father Tavard suggests. This third possibility is to intensify the struggle to disengage the Catholic heritage from the shell of Western culture in order that such authentic Catholicity may, in Pope John's words, become "a soul that has been enlarged to the dimensions of the world."

Does History Have a Meaning?

The Meaning of History. By Erich Kahler. George Braziller. $5.

by C. J. Fox

DR. KAHLER'S book is arranged backforemost. He does not explain what prompted its composition until the last of its three sections—an odd arrangement to come from the hand of one so enamored of the historical method. Thus we are plunged, to begin with, into a discussion of maddeningly abstract terms like "meaning" and "history," all of which leaves the reader without any sense of the real drama of the book, its polemical occasion.

That occasion (and going to the last section, one finds it dealt with in some detail) results from what the author sees as the exhaustion in our time of the idea that history has "a finite aim." Even Marxism—"the last movement to raise such expectancy" —has begun to understand, says Dr. Kahler, that "life, by its very nature, can have no finite goal, that it moves, transcends itself perpetually." The consequence is that "many people, including scholars and thinkers, who plainly identify meaning with a finite aim, (now say) history has no meaning."

These scholars and thinkers, to Dr. Kahler's mind, include Sir Isaiah Berlin and E. H. Carr, and so this book takes the reader once again into the Great Debate that has convulsed the house of history-writing since, roughly, the publication in 1954 of Sir Isaiah's *Historical Inevitability*. This continuing controversy centers on the issue of historical determinism vs. individual freedom. Dr. Kahler seems to think that writers like Berlin, shell-shocked by the horrors of the Hitler-Stalin era, have gone to an extreme in their emphasis on individual freedom as opposed to theories of determinism. And he quotes with approval Carr's assertion that "all human actions are both free and determined, according to the point of view from which one considers them."

Developing this theme in his own fashion—and steering an ingenious Middle Way between the contending camps—Dr. Kahler says that, although inevitability attaches to the direction taken by historical happenings, the way in which these happenings occur "appear to be the subject of choices and decisions of individuals." There is "evolutionary coherence" in history "but this need not and must not paralyze our will and feeling of freedom."

Throughout this critical section of his book, Dr. Kahler contends that the arts and sciences are now dominated by the anti-historical school of thought, much to their loss. Yet he also lists four bodies of ideology which, he writes, play a powerful role in the modern world—nationalism, racism, Communism and capitalism. All of them still place a prime emphasis on history as a process working to their respective purposes. One might ask how Dr. Kahler squares this account of the Twentieth-Century ideological scene with his argument concerning the triumph of the anti-historical. His book leaves the inconsistency unresolved.

Much of the work is concerned with the development of historical thought since the time aboriginal man looked out on the world and obtusely (to Dr. Kahler's mind) adjudged it "changeless." These chapters, largely unexceptionable if sometimes unclear, cover ground already made familiar by such historians of historiography as R. G. Collingwood, Herbert Butterfield and Pieter Geyl. Sometimes Dr. Kahl

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trays from his point, as in his chapers on Medieval thought, or he berays insensitivity regarding certain ignificant nuances, as in the pecuiarly negative role he suffers St. Augustine to play in man's achievement of an historical perspective. He nakes no mention of the significance o this achievement of Augustine's ;ense of "catastrophe," which has 'ascinated and stimulated students of world events in later periods of near-ıpocalypse, such as our own.

This latter lapse in Dr. Kahler's ıccount may be traced back to his nsistence early in the book that his-ory, before it can be said to exist, nust have "meaning" and that such neaning implies coherence. He leems it "unimaginable" that history should be "nothing more than a con-fused, chaotic mass of events." Un-der this spectacularly narrow scheme of things, Augustine, with his "in-validation of earthly life and proc-esses," must obviously be treated as something less than an historian in any full, positive sense, and a similar view would have to be taken of many world-observers in our own chaos-obsessed time. Dr. Kahler's definition of history is, in fact, so desperately restricted as to resemble a kind of wish-fulfillment on the part of a philosopher alarmed and grieved by what he calls "the atrophy and loss of control of individual consciousness" in contemporary society.

Gentility Rampant

A Backward Glance. By Edith Wharton. Scribner's. $6.95.

by J. S. Rubenstein

IN THE quiet reawakening of interest in Edith Wharton there is the sort of decorum that would doubtless have found much favor with its object. Mr. Louis Auchincloss, a lawyer who writes fiction, has in the past decade been her most articulate, but discreet, admirer and advocate. His writings betray Mrs. Wharton's influence; and with candor befitting a member of the bar he has on various occasions publicly acknowledged indebtedness. Now that J. Donald Adams has proclaimed Mr. Auchincloss the best American novelist of his day it is pleasing to note that he has written the introduction for the present re-issue of Mrs. Wharton's autobiography.

Originally published over thirty years ago, *A Backward Glance* epitomizes for me the phrase "polite letters" that I once found wholly incomprehensible. In her preface, Mrs. Wharton alludes to a contemporary autobiography whose author was praised as "not afraid to tell the truth" and remarks with distaste that this meant "simply the fact that the memorialist 'spared no one,' set down in detail every defect and absurdity in others, and every resentment in the writer."

Her aim is more consonant with good manners. "I have not," she tells us, "escaped contact with the uncongenial; but the antipathy they aroused was usually reciprocal, and this simplified and restricted our intercourse. . . . I recall no sensational grievances. Everywhere on my path I have met with kindness and furtherance; and from the few dearest to me an exquisite understanding."

What follows—except for some howlingly malicious sketches of Henry James trying to cope with the harsh realities of, for instance, asking directions in the English language—is a placid, well-mannered chronicle of the author's life. In this narrative unpleasant objects are recorded—but these are always *things*, rather than events or people.

Thus Mrs. Wharton complains about the monotony of New York brownstone architecture, the naturalistic school of writers, the chaos of travel facilities in Spain. In 1913 she divorced her husband, but no mention of this fact appears in the autobiography: one gets instead the impression that from Mr. Wharton she always obtained "an exquisite understanding" and that, for some mysterious reason, he simply ceased to exist at one point of time.

Proust, she tells us, she declined to meet because the story that he was interested in speaking only with duchesses offended her egalitarian sympathies. Her considerable efforts in relief work during World War I are described with the reticence one might expect to find in a letter written by some young matron employed, several hours a week, in Junior League work at a fashionable metropolitan hospital.

In Edith Wharton's autobiography people move gracefully in a picture postcard world. They travel; they drink tea; they die. Nearly always they are charming—at least, we are told they are. The names of dozens of inconsequential people are lovingly thrown before the reader—not because of their own importance or because of any profound influence they may have had on the writer, but because of their asserted charm, witty conversation, or good breeding.

In her preface Mrs. Wharton notes that snippets of the autobiography had appeared in earlier essays but neglects to mention that much of her descriptions of New York society are lifted, almost word-for-word, from her own fiction.

Mrs. Wharton's concern is more with the rendering of the manners of an age than with the depiction of real people, more with the *tour de force* of seeming to write from a man's point of view than with really seeing anything from that point of view. In *Ethan Frome* her striving for cracker barrel folksiness results in diction worthy of Edgar Guest and such complete disregard of the necessary trivia of human feeling that her admirers, perhaps in despair, have claimed to discover in the book the stark outlines of classical tragedy. But even at her best—in the New York pieces—there is the same essential shallowness. Mrs. Wharton condescends to Mattie and Ethan while she gossips with a curiously admiring cattiness about Ellen Olenska and Newland Archer, but in both cases the lack is felt.

There is of course no law that requires fictional people to be presented as fully as Leopold Bloom. With a few deft swipes Jane Austen tells us all we need to know about everybody in *Pride and Prejudice*. Conrad's figures are for the most part convenient moral counters for the author to move about in a complex game. Under the ground rules these writers have drawn, greater depth of character representation would be superfluous.

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Mrs. Wharton, however, promises more. What makes *Ethan Frome* so unbearable is the insistence upon telling us: this is the way New England rustics live; here are several portrayed in the fullest color. And, in *The Age of Innocence,* Newland's severance from Ellen becomes a matter of small concern because it is hard to see what had ever gotten the two so involved in the first place. Rather than pathos, the book engenders at most a quiet regretful irony along with an amused reverie over what apparently were the Good Old Days.

Mrs. Wharton's is a gentle craft. In her best work there is the charm of a delicately wrought Tiffany lampshade. There is also the kind of snob appeal which seems to account for Mr. Auchincloss' recent popularity. Both—to use a New Havenism—are shoe writers. Somehow one could wish for more.

Four Books on Race

A Time to Speak. By Charles Morgan, Jr. Harper & Row. $3.95.
Ten Years of Prelude. By Benjamin Muse. Viking Press. $5.
Black, White and Gray. Edited by Bradford Daniel. Sheed & Ward. $5.95.
Assuring Freedom to the Free. Edited by Arnold M. Rose. Wayne State University Press. $6.95.

by Howard N. Meyer

ABOUT a year or so ago, librarians and bookish-minded students of race relations observed a striking phenomenon. The library shelves ordinarily reserved for books dealing with Negro/white aspects of intergroup relations had been emptied by their borrowers. These barren shelves, stocked under the librarians' decimal system by class mark 325.26 (or 301.45), spoke eloquently of a newly developed concern and desire to learn.

Four products of the recent publishing season have in common the one feature that they were written or introduced by white Southerners. I have a hunch—which I hope that readers of a later day may describe as an informed judgment—that the way out of the morass we are in will be led and lit by the emancipated white Southerner. *That* emancipation, in turn, is being initiated, hastened, or revealed in response to the struggle of the militant black Southerner to be free.

It was an ex-Confederate soldier from New Orleans, George Washington Cable, novelist and agitator, who said just eighty years ago that "the greatest social problem before the American people today is, as it has been for a hundred years, the presence among us of the Negro." Cable opened with this sentence a commencement address at the University of Alabama, during which he was interrupted again and again with applause. It was, he said, the "nation that was to blame" for "the results of African-American slavery" and he insisted that the correction of these evils "must be the nation's duty." There was, alas, little hope then that the nation would see and do that duty.

The complete absence of hope of aid from the rest of the nation made futile Cable's plea to what he called "the silent South." I thought of Cable's flight from New Orleans to Northampton when I learned of Charles Morgan's departure from Birmingham last year, not long after his "we are all guilty" speech drew the national spotlight on him. His new book, *A Time to Speak,* is a moving and informative personal memoir. One feels, after reading the book, that the significant part of the Charles Morgan story is not the event that brought about his departure from Birmingham, but the devoted efforts of the years of his stay there. For year after year Morgan had been speaking up—and he survived. He tells, in his book, the highly personal story of his involvement, as a young attorney, in cases and situations where he spoke out for justice and ultimately for interracial justice. If he had had a little help from Washington, he might be there still.

Although the nation had its back turned, he was not alone. The men he defended were not the outside agitators that Wallace talks about. The most militant client, Bob Zellner, a white SNCC field secretary, was an Alabama native who had been educated at an Alabama college. Morgan himself moved from the stance c mere moderate who furnished lega services to one of increasing personal involvement. Even so, until his las year or two in Birmingham, he ha political ambitions, and connection within the local Democratic Part which indicated that those ambition were not unrealistic.

Charles Morgan's narrative is th story of the "moderate" who has bee moved by the experiences of lif itself to the outright integrationis position, the truly Reconstructe Southerner. Benjamin Muse and th Southern Regional Council, the or ganization for which he wrote *Te Years of Prelude* (the chronicle of th decade since the school decision have been moving too. The Counci was criticized by Saunders Reddin in his own memoir, *On Being a Negr in America,* as being too "gradualist." That 1951 evaluation has long sinc ceased to be accurate. The activitie and publications of the Council sinc 1961, when I discovered it, have bee a constant source of enlightenmen and inspiration. I have seen publishe in *New South,* its lively little monthl periodical, statements of truths tha the establishmentarian white libera editors of the North wouldn't ever understand.

Mr. Muse, author of *Ten Years o Prelude,* is a former State Senato from Virginia who evolved by a dif ferent path from Morgan's out of the "moderate" and into the integration ist point of view. His book is a useful and well-documented summary-narrative of the ten-year period that closed with such a painfully small proportion of Southern Negro pupils in token-integrated schools. (We non-Southerners, of course, during this same decade, have moved backward: *de facto* segregation North and West probably being worse now than it was ten years ago.) Mr. Muse's study, confined to the schools of the South, reminds us of the facts that fix the blame for the slowness of pace there on the nation as a whole. Viewed in retrospect, one sees two key events as having accounted for the spread of nullificationism: the presidential failure to respond and react to the Texas Governor's support of lawless interference at Mansfield, Texas, in 1956; and congressional failure in

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957, when a filibuster forced the imination from that year's civil ghts legislation of the Title III pro-osal, which would have endorsed id implemented the *Brown* decision r conferring on the Attorney Gen-al authority to institute desegrega-on litigation.

Bradford Daniel, editor of *Black, 'hite & Gray*, is a young and very nancipated white Texan who inte-ated *Sepia* magazine by acting as executive editor for a time. His ook presents a wide range of view-oints in its score of essays, from hn LaFarge to Ross Barnett and oy Wilkins to George Wallace. Mr. aniel's thesis is that the current na-onal multilogue on race relations is iling to illuminate "the gravest oblem of our time." Correctly as-rting that "We must have truth efore we can have justice," he at-mpts (instead of offering a didactic esentation), to instigate a probing, hereby the reader will be enabled analyze and evaluate and solve e problem within himself.

For those readers who can meet r. Daniel's specification—a desire r intense self-analysis—his book will ave value. I would criticize it for ie omission: the failure to include ie point of view of Robert Williams, articulated, say, by Truman Nelson his book *Negroes With Guns*. The gument that officially tolerated or cited violence should not be faced y *non*-violence alone is entitled to a earing. It should at least stimulate nother phase of the self-analysis ought by the book.

One of the more stimulating and seful contributions is that of Mr. aniel's fellow-Texan, Ronnie Dug-er. His reflective discussion of his wn travail offers proof of the ap-licability of Camus' principle "that e are responsible not only for what e do, but for what we do not do" the search for interracial justice. the basic reason for describing our roblem as one of *national* recon-ruction can be epitomized in a hrase, it is that of Francis E. Kearns, nother contributor: "the fact that ie North can practice race discrimi-ation and at the same time congratu-te itself for its tolerance is indicative f the presence in the Northern men-lity of illusory notions perhaps even more grotesque than those held in the South." The frustrating thing about a book like *Black, White and Gray* is that it presses on one the question: What shall we do about the non-reader?

The concept of national reconstruction is our challenge and our hope. The Johnson who followed one President's martyrdom with bold words about regional reconstruction ended by sabotaging that effort. Now we have another Southerner from the hill country, also born a "poor white," as our national leader. Lyndon B. Johnson, while still Vice-President, delivered the opening address at the Centennial Convocation of Wayne State University. Its collected papers, entitled *Assuring Freedom to the Free* and edited by Arnold Rose, have been published with Mr. Johnson's remarks as Introduction. One concerned with the use and abuse of history in action for integration is naturally pleased to find Lyndon Johnson beginning by quoting Wendell Phillips.

The present President Johnson's words on Civil Rights have been so fine that one feels a certain impatience to see them put into action. Much in the way that Robert Moses' superhighways are obsolete by the time they are finished, the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 is shaped to solve the problems of the past, not those of the future. More than moral leadership is required from the federal executive.

There are many fine essays in *Assuring Freedom to the Free*, and the book deserves wider attention than a University press product is likely to get. For me, Professor Arnold Rose's own contribution is alone worth the price. With a candor uncommon in the academic world he deals with what his title aptly describes as "Distortions in the History of American Race Relations." As a sociologist with credentials that go back to his co-authorship of *An American Dilemma* he has long sought to locate the roots of prejudice. He now concludes that a major factor has been that "The historians allowed bigots to invent the history of race relations," particularly during the First Reconstruction and he reminds us, by reference to Orwell, that "devastating things can be done to human beings by forcing them to accept false ideas about their past."

REVIEWERS

The Reverend David L. Clark is a priest in the Episcopal Church and professor of church history at Hope College, Michigan.

C. J. Fox is a reporter on the staff of a Canadian news agency.

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Howard N. Meyer is the editor of a recent re-issue of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment*.

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